UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
EXTENSION BULLETIN

VOL. XL AUGUST, 1960 No. 1

HIGH SCHOOL WORLD PEACE STUDY AND SPEAKING PROGRAM

"THE UNITED NATIONS AND WORLD PEACE"

Compiled by
E. R. RANKIN

Peace Handbook
1960-1961

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CHAPEL HILL MCMLX

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
1.	Purpose and Policy, by O. K. Merritt	4
2.	Foreword, by E. R. Rankin	5
3.	Rules and Suggestions	6
4.	Endorsement, by Governor Luther H. Hodges	8
5.	Endorsement, by State Supt. Charles F. Carroll	8
6.	Address, by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold	9
7.	Address, by President Dwight D. Eisenhower	16
8.	Address, by President Dwight D. Eisenhower	22
9.	Address, by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge	27
10.	Address, by Assistant Secretary of State Francis O. Wilcox	31
11.	Statement, by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge	36
12.	Address, by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Ivan B. White	39
13.	Statement, by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge	41
14.	U. S. Note to the Soviet Government	43
15.	Address, by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter	44
16.	Editorial, from The New York Times	46
17.	Editorial, from The New York Times	47
18.	Address, by W. Randolph Burgess, U. S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council	48
19.	Address, by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter	49
20.	Congo Resolution of the U. N. Security Council	50
21.	References	51
22.	Films about the United Nations	52
23.	World Affairs Information Center	52

PURPOSE AND POLICY

By Oscar K. Merritt, *Mount Airy, N. C.*

Business Man, Originator of this Program

The boys and girls in our high schools today, tomorrow must take over the leadership, not only of our own nation, but to a large extent of the entire world.

Has any generation ever faced so great a responsibility?

Are we giving our young people the information and training they will need?

The purpose of this Program is to stimulate interest and furnish information on the problems of World Peace. We aim to reach not only high school pupils, but through them the masses of our people, upon whose collective conviction eventual World Peace must hinge.

> "The sum total of the common sense of the common people is the greatest and soundest force on earth."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

High schools are in position to lead public thinking in their communities. Therefore, this Program of study and public speaking on World Peace is being offered to the high schools of our State and the nation.

The Program supports no one controversial thesis, but presents various points of view in unbiased consideration.

All persons and organizations desiring peace are invited and urged to help promote this Program in the high schools of their communities.

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

"Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

"Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rain'd a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

"Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging thro' the thunder-storm;

"Till the war-drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

"There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

From *Locksley Hall*

By Alfred, Lord Tennyson

FOREWORD

The University Extension Division of the University of North Carolina takes pleasure in announcing the Fifteenth Annual High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program. This Program exists for the purpose of encouraging the study and discussion of ways and means of building and maintaining just and lasting peace.

Two hundred and three high schools took part in the Program of 1946-47 on the subject: "Is World Government the Path to Peace?"; 189 high schools entered the Program of 1947-48 on the subject: "How Can the United Nations Be Strengthened?"; 182 high schools entered the Program of 1948-49 on the subject: "What is the Responsibility of the United States in World Affairs?"; 200 high schools entered the Program of 1949-50 on the subject: "Building World Peace in the Atomic Age: What Are the Responsibilities of the United States in the United Nations and in the Atlantic Pact?"; 192 high schools entered the Program of 1950-51 on the subject: "How Can We Help to Build World Peace in the Atomic Age?"; 223 high schools entered the Program of 1951-52 on the subject: "Building World Peace: What Is the Responsibility of the United States in the Light of Communist Aggression?"

Two hundred and forty-four high schools entered the Program of 1952-53 on the subject: "Building World Peace: What Have Been the Achievements and What Are the Prospects of the United Nations?"; 202 high schools entered the Program of 1953-54 on the subject: "Building World Peace: How Can the United Nations Prevent Communist Aggression and Preparation for Aggression?"; 193 high schools entered the Program of 1954-55 on the subject: "The Role of the United Nations in the Building of World Peace"; 175 high schools entered the Program of 1955-56 on the subject: "The Future of the United Nations in Helping to Build World Peace"; 177 high schools entered the Program of 1956-57 on the subject: "The United Nations—Its Problems and Opportunities"; 143 high schools entered the Program of 1957-58 on the subject: "The United Nations in the Search for World Peace"; 149 high schools entered the Program of 1958-59 on the subject: "The Role of the United Nations in the Modern World"; and 136 high schools entered the Program of 1959-60 on the subject: "The United Nations in the Space Age."

The central topic for this year's Program is: "The United Nations and World Peace." Various responsible points of view are outlined in the articles carried in the bulletin and in the references listed. The individual students should study all of the material available and should present their own respective points of view on the subject.

This Program has received endorsement by many organizations, by four Governors and two State Superintendents of Public Instruction, and by the North Carolina General Assembly of 1947.

Appreciation is expressed to Oscar K. Merritt, originator of the Program, and to those whose addresses, articles, or other materials appear in reproduced form in the handbook.

The attention of all who are interested is invited to the Rules and Suggestions which outline procedures which may be followed.

E. R. Rankin
Director of the Program

RULES AND SUGGESTIONS

1. This Program is open to all high schools which will conduct it in accord with its basic intent and principles.

2. The Program shall be sponsored in each high school either by the school itself or by a suitable organization or individual acceptable to the local school administration.

3. The high school principal should appoint one member of the faculty as supervisor of the Program in the school.

4. Each participating high school should encourage as many as possible of its students to study the literature available and to write speeches on the subject specified.

5. It is strongly recommended that the Peace Handbook be assigned for special study or as a special project in connection with suitable high school courses. The vast majority of the participating high schools have used the Peace Handbock in connection with one or more of the following courses: English, History, Social Studies, Public Speaking, Government, Sociology, Civics, and Dramatics.

6. Each school shall select, by fair and suitable methods, not less than three nor more than six of its students to speak in a final public local contest. This selection is usually based first on required papers on the subject and second on speaking ability of the students.

7. Each speech shall be not less than 6 minutes nor more than 12 minutes in length.

8. Each contestant shall prepare and deliver his own speech. He shall be entitled to oral assistance in preparation of the speech and in practicing delivery, and may use materials from any source available. All speeches must be the original composition of the individual student, and all quoted materials must be duly acknowledged. Contestants are usually permitted to have their papers before them as they speak.

9. Each high school administration and each sponsor should enlist the aid of local churches, civic organizations, the press, radio, and all other suitable mediums to publicize the contest.

10. The final public speaking contest in each school shall be held at the earliest convenient date within the school year 1960-61. (The contest date is left flexible to accommodate the Peace Program to use in connection with courses of study.)

11. The winner in each contest shall be selected by a suitable committee of judges.

12. The University of North Carolina Extension Division at Chapel Hill shall supervise the Program and serve as a "clearing house," preparing and distributing background materials and ordering for the sponsors the "World Peace" Gold Keys to be presented to the winners.

13. Each registering school shall fill out the proper registration blank and send it, accompanied by the registration fee ($5.00 for North Carolina schools and $7.50 for schools outside North Carolina) to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill. For this fee the Extension Division will supply the school with 10 copies of the Handbook and the "World Peace" Gold Key. From various adult civic clubs or other groups

in the city or county, sponsors can be secured readily in most instances and in all such cases the sponsors will provide the fee. At the same time, the school can pay the registration fee from its own funds. In any event, the interest of adult clubs and other groups and organizations within the community is to be enlisted to the maximum extent possible.

14. At the conclusion of the speaking contest, each school shall send to the University Extension Division at Chapel Hill a report of results, giving the name of the winner, the estimated attendance, the number of speakers, and a copy of the winning speech.

15. The school administration and the sponsor shall use all suitable means for publicizing the results of the contest, such as having outstanding speeches published in full in the local press and broadcast over the radio. Special efforts should be made to arrange for the contestants to deliver their speeches before various local adult groups and organizations.

16. At the public contest, the presiding officer should explain the primary objective of the Program.

17. It is felt that, in the judging of speeches, consideration should be given particularly to content, organization, and delivery. As a very general guide, it is suggested: (1) that the judges place 50 per cent value on content of the speech (with emphasis on logical, well-thought-out material directly related to the subject); (2) that they place 25 per cent value on organization of material (with emphasis on logical and literary arrangement); and (3) that they place 25 per cent value on delivery.

18. The "World Peace" Gold Key should be presented to the winner immediately after the decision has been announced.

19. In so far as local methods of procedure are concerned, these rules may be revised, when necessary, to fit the local situation.

ENDORSEMENT BY GOVERNOR LUTHER H. HODGES

To High School Principals and Teachers:

For the past several years the University Extension Division of the University of North Carolina has sponsored a High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program. I have followed the results of this project with much interest, and believe this Program has been effective in the education of our high school students.

This year the subject of the Program will be, "The United Nations and World Peace."

I wholeheartedly endorse this Study and Speaking Program and hope that a large number of our high school students will participate this year.

Sincerely,
LUTHER H. HODGES
Governor of North Carolina

July 18, 1960

ENDORSEMENT BY STATE SUPT. CHARLES F. CARROLL

To High School Principals and Teachers
Greetings:

The subject for the 1960-61 High School World Peace Study and Speaking Program—"The United Nations and World Peace"—is indeed timely and appropriate. Today as never before the maintenance of world peace stands as a challenge to all people and to all nations; and, the hopes and confidence shared by peoples and nations that peace may prevail are reposed in large measure in the United Nations.

I am pleased to commend this Program as an opportunity to extend farther the frontiers of enlightenment and understanding among our young citizens. I am confident that all who participate will profit.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,
CHAS. F. CARROLL
State Superintendent of Public Instruction

July 14, 1960

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

(Excerpts from an address by Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold at the University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1960, as carried in the United Nations Review, volume 6, pages 26-30, June, 1960.)

I would like tonight to share with you some observations regarding a legal problem—I use the word "legal" in its broadest sense—which so far has received but little attention. International law, in spite of the vast literature covering the subject, has on the whole been less favored by serious students than national law. And within the field of international law what might be called international constitutional law and its specific problems has attracted less interest than other parts with their far longer history in the western world. In fact, international constitutional law is still in an embryonic stage; we are still in the transition between institutional systems of international coexistence and constitutional systems of international cooperation. It is natural that, at such a stage of transition, theory is still vague, mixed with elements of a political nature and dependent on what basically may be considered sociological theory.

Men organize themselves into families. The families join together in villages or tribes. The tribes and the villages fuse into peoples, and one day, out of the self-consciousness of a people, there develops a feeling of difference and separateness, the positive expression of which is a feeling of nationhood. The nation organizes its life within a set of constitutional rules, evolving in practice or crystallized as law. Under the constitution the people develop national organs with different functions and a division of responsibilities representing a balance of power. Through those organs laws are given, setting the pattern for the lives and activities of the individuals and the groups which constitute the nation.

Is that the end of the road of the development of human society? Of course not. Nation borders on nation, peoples get in touch with each other, and whatever differences there may exist and whatever conflicts of interest the people may see, they are forced to live together, fighting or in peace, as neighbors with limits put by nature to their possible self-sufficiency and for that reason with a need to develop forms for international intercourse, permitting more or less highly developed degrees of cooperation. So an institutional system of coexistence is developed with its rules and practices. Still there is no international society. Still the nation remains the highest fully organized form for the life of peoples.

However primitive a basic institutional pattern may be, it carries within it seeds for the growth of higher social organisms, covering wider areas and groups of peoples. To use my terminology of a moment ago, such an institutional system for coexistence, stage by stage, may be developed and enriched until, on single points or on a broad front, it passes over into a constitutional system of cooperation. When that happens, we get in a first, necessarily rudimentary form, a form of society which, while preserving and protecting the lives of the nations, points towards an international constitutional system surmounting the nations,

utilizing them to the extent that smaller units are more efficient instruments for evolution, but creating rules which limit the influence of the nations in fields where bigger units present greater possibilities for development and survival.

I believe it is useful, in the discussion of the development of human society, be it national or international, to keep in mind this sociological perspective taken over from theories of biological evolution. It is a perspective which helps us to a more realistic appraisal of what it is we have achieved and what it is we are trying to do, as well as of the scope and significance of our failure and our successes. It also gives us a broader and more organic sense of the role of law—again I use the word in its broadest sense, including not only written law but the whole social pattern of established rules of action and behavior—making us see the differences as well as the similarities between the national and international field, and warning us against false analogies.

I

In the light of this approach, the value of speculation about what should be the ultimate constitutional form for international cooperation is obviously limited. Those who advocate world government, and this or that special form of world federalism, often present challenging theories and ideas, but we, like our ancestors, can only press against the receding wall which hides the future. It is by such efforts, pursued to the best of our ability, more than by the construction of ideal patterns to be imposed upon society, that we lay the basis and pave the way for the society of the future.

Our century has established a rich pattern of approaches to the development of an institutional framework for coexistence, as well as for a constitutional framework for international cooperation. In this respect our time is as much in the front line of evolution as it is in the field of natural sciences. It would take me much too far if, on this occasion, I were to try to make an analysis of these various efforts. I must limit my brief comments to developments around which interest and activities have recently tended to center, such as the European efforts to tie the countries of the continent together in new patterns, providing for intensified cooperation, and, especially, the United Nations family of international organizations.

In a galaxy of nations like the European one, there are, of course, strongly ingrained patterns and inherited sets of rules which integrate the area. The life of those nations develops within a system explained by a number of shared interests and basic concepts, which set a framework for trade, for travel and exchange of people, for movement of capital and for exchange of ideas. Within the system created by those rules we have, in a sense, a kind of "common market," which, however, does not infringe on the sovereignty of any of the nations forming part of the market and which, therefore, still lacks completely what might be called a constitutional element. It thus remains a purely institutional pattern. With the recent creation of the European Common Market of six nations, the Coal and Steel Community, and similar bodies, a decisive step has been taken in the further development of this institutional

framework. In fact, by these actions the system has been pushed beyond the border of institutional arrangements and has come to include some initial constitutional elements.

The institutional evolution in Europe has brought us a step in the direction of a true constitutional framework for cooperation which, through experimental stages of a confederal nature, may finally lead to some kind of federal system or even stronger forms of association. However, just as in the case of world federalism, I think it is wise to avoid talking of this or that kind of ultimate political target and to realize that the development is still in an early stage of institutional evolution, although a few vanguard penetrations into the constitutional area have taken place. What seems imperative is to push forward institutionally and, eventually, constitutionally all along the line, guided by current needs and experiences, without preconceived ideas of the ultimate form.

It may be worth mentioning that, according to statements made by the President of France, the present approach to the idea of a French-African community has essential elements in common with the attitude just described. If I understand the policy correctly, it works in the direction of a far-reaching development of institutional patterns without any definite stand now being taken on the constitutional element, which thus is permitted to grow out of the evolving institutional pattern, whatever the direction which the interplay of forces may later establish. When, for example, in the case of the Federation of Mali, it is said that the new federation will have full independence while, on the other hand, it will be in a close cooperation with France, provided for by a set of agreements, this seems to reflect a state of affairs characterized by a highly elaborate institutional framework which, however, does not reach into the sphere of constitutional arrangements.

II

It is known that Sir Winston Churchill, in his time, advocated an approach to the building of a world community through the creation of regional organizations as stepping-stones to more highly developed forms of international coexistence or cooperation. We see instead the advance being made in part only through regional arrangements, but in part—and mainly—independently of such arrangements, and directly on the basis of universality. If Sir Winston's line had been followed it would, with my terminology, have meant that regional organizations step by step would have developed a basic institutional pattern for universal coexistence by which, later on, a push forward, on the universal level, could have been tried in the direction of a constitutional pattern.

If we accept the interpretation given here to the European community and the French-African community, the United Nations could, in a similar sense, be called a "community," although of a universal character. It represents in itself, with the methods of operation and the rules established, an elaboration of an institutional pattern of coexistence. It even has, in theory, points where it reaches into the constitutional sphere; I have, of course, in mind especially the authority given to the Security Council to act with mandatory power, provided the action

is supported unanimously by the permanent members. However, as is natural with a more complex system, built up of a greater number of components, among which—to use the language of natural science—in many fields forces of repulsion tend to balance or outbalance forces of attraction, the cohesion is more unstable and the field covered by the institutional pattern less extended or more marginal than in the case of regional groupings.

Viewed in this light, the United Nations is an experimental operation on one of the lines along which men at present push forward in the direction of higher forms of an international society. It is obvious that we cannot regard the line of approach represented by the United Nations as intrinsically more valuable or more promising than other lines, in spite of the fact that, through its universality, it lies closer to or points more directly towards the ideal of a true constitutional framework for worldwide international cooperation, and notwithstanding the obvious weaknesses of regional approaches to such cooperation. However, if one cannot *a priori* give it higher value, it is, on the other hand, equally impermissible to regard it as less promising than experiments at present pursued on other lines. The effort carried on within and through the United Nations is an effort just as necessary as other experiments, and nothing short of the pursuit of this specific experiment with all our ability, all our energy and all our dedication can be defended. In fact, the effort seems already to have been carried so far that we have conquered essential new ground for our work for the future. This would remain true in all circumstances and even if political complications were one day to force us to a wholly new start.

III

When the United Nations was created, the founders had the experience of the League of Nations and also the experience of such a highly evolved constitutional pattern as that established on the American continent. A strong influence from both these experiences can be seen in the Charter of the United Nations.

We have an Assembly of state representatives with an equal voice in the deliberations and decisions, irrespective of the size of the nation for whom they speak. But the "legislative" powers of the Assembly have been limited to recommendations which, legally, at present is likely to be the maximum attainable. We have one collective "executive" organ, formed on the pattern of the Council of the League of Nations, but with voting rules adjusted to the political realities of the world and, therefore, recognizing that mandatory authority cannot be vested in such an organ unless supported by the main powers in the world arena. We have, on the other hand, also what may be called a one-man "executive," with explicit authority in the administrative field, supplementary to, but not overlapping the authority of either the council or the Assembly.

Further, we have two organs with elements of both "legislative" and "executive" power, of which one carries the special responsibilities of a political nature which belong to the United Nations under the Trusteeship System, and the other one has broad authority in the field of

economic and social development regarding questions of coordination of action towards the targets established under the Charter.

Finally, we have the International Court of Justice as a counterpart to a national judiciary. It would have possibilities to develop into a more important element in the settlement of international conflicts than it now is, were the unfortunate and self-defeating reservations against its jurisdiction made by some member countries to be withdrawn. It should be stressed that all these organs function within the framework of the Charter, a document that by its very nature and by the way in which it establishes solemn commitments to certain joint principles and purposes has a clear constitutional aspect, in the sense in which I am using this term here.

The system we find in the United Nations has its strength and its weakness. In the light of the experiences of fifteen years, undoubtedly some changes of the pattern would be made if the Charter were to be revised. These changes, however, would probably not refer to the various organs as such, but rather to their relative authority—that is to say to the division of responsibilities—and to their methods of operation.

The experiment carried on through and within the United Nations has found in the Charter a framework of sufficient flexibility to permit growth beyond what seems to have been anticipated in San Francisco. Even without formal revisions, the institutional system embodied in the organization has undergone innovations explained by organic adaptation to needs and experiences.

On this point a word of warning may be in order. The fact that important sections of the Charter—I think especially of Chapter VII which lays down the rules for interventions of the United Nations with military force—so far have not been implemented and still seem far from application, does not mean that on these points we are facing a dead letter, and that to the same extent the power of the Security Council, as the executive organ entrusted with authority under Chaper VII, has withered away. It is not so because, with some changes in the world situation, the clauses of the Charter to which I have referred may come to be seen as providing the basis for an adequate response to the anticipated needs. If and when it should so happen, the activities of the Security Council would automatically show a corresponding expansion.

IV

What I have said is not hypothetical, as may be seen from the current discussion on disarmament. Were developments now to lead the main powers to an agreement on even limited disarmament, the need for an institutional evolution in the direction foreseen in Chapter VII would at once present itself with considerable strength.

So far I have referred only to the United Nations itself. At its side stand the specialized agencies with somewhat similar organizational systems. They are autonomous, though coordinated with the United Nations within the terms of the Charter. There are provisions for cooperation among the various organizations within the United Nations family. However, this cooperation is established mainly on the Secretariat level,

and the group of organizations as a whole has no organ which, through a majority decision, can lay down a common line of action. A committee of the administrative heads of the various organizations, established for cooperation, functions on a basis of unanimity which is made necessary by the autonomy of the organizations.

Experience shows that neither the central role of the General Assembly of the United Nations, nor the fact that, generally speaking, the same nations are members of all the organizations, provides for an effective integration among them. Thus we see at the present stage the paradox that the organizations created for the development of an institutional framework for international coexistence are themselves bound together within such a pattern only in a very loose form, which is not reinforced to any considerable extent by an integration of policies within various member countries.

This fact, which is strongly indicative of the experimental and, one might even say, embryonic character of the present efforts, is of special significance when we face a need to expand the field to be covered by international cooperation. Historically we have to register a tendency to create new organs for each new major field of activity. Thus international cooperation in the field of the peaceful uses of atomic energy led to the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency, which for all practical purposes functions as a specialized agency. Similarly, in the case of control of the implementation of an agreement on nuclear tests, the creation of a new autonomous organ is anticipated. Finally, even in the field of disarmament, which under the Charter is a central task of the United Nations, suggestions have been made to the effect that activities of decisive significance should be entrusted to a new organ which might be not only administratively but also politically independent of the United Nations.

In view of the tentative stage so far reached as regards coordination of activities among the various organizations working on the basis of universality, it may be questioned whether the tendency to which I have just referred will not prove to be a deviation leading us away from the most fruitful direction for an evolution of a framework for international cocperation. At least it seems to me that, if this tendency is accepted and continued, it should be counter-balanced by an effort to evolve new forms for integration of the work of the various international agencies. I am not in a position to say in what direction such forms may be found, but unless they are developed we may come to face a situation where the very growth of the framework for international cooperation tends to lead to an ultimate weakening. If I am permitted to fall back again on a parallel with biological developments, it is as if we were to permit the growth of a tree to be weakened by the development of too many branches, finally sapping its strength so that it breaks down under its own weight.

Having spoken about the risk of disintegration of the international framework through a proliferation of organs, I should mention also the opposite risk, that by combining too many tasks too closely within one and the same organ you break it up, as of course no organization can carry an unlimited burden because of the simple fact that no leaders of

such an organization can have the capacity to give satisfactory leadership over ever-expanding areas.

The two risks indicated call for careful thought before we push much further forward. We must seek the optimum balance between a system with a large number of autonomous bodies and a system with strong concentration of tasks within a lesser number of organizations. The way will have to be found by trial and error, but planning is necessary because of the difficulty to take a step backward or to change fundamentally what once has been established. Probably, new forms will have to be devised, not only, as already indicated, for an integration of activities among autonomous organizations, but also for the delegation of powers within this or that organization without a breaking up of its inner unity.

What is true of the United Nations family of organizations as a whole is true also of the United Nations. The developing activities over ever-wider fields, in response to the needs which we face, may serve to alert us to possible risks of a lack of integration even within the organization itself. The correctives exist. There is the unifying influence of the General Assembly itself and of other main organs. There are the coordinating activities within and through the Secretariat. But, again, the human factor comes into play, and I would in this context, in concluding, like to quote one example of interest as a comparison of constitutional problems facing an international organization with those we know from national administrations. You will excuse me if I refer to my own office.

V

The Secretary-General of the United Nations is the Chief Administrative Officer of the organization and, as such, the only elected member of the Secretariat. The founders of the United Nations may in this context have looked to the American Constitution. The chief of any government, or the Chief Executive in the United States, has the assistance of a group of close collaborators who represent the same basic approach, and to whom he therefore can delegate a considerable part of his responsibilities. On the basis of universality, especially in a divided world but generally speaking as long as nations have opposing interests, no similar arrangement is possible within the United Nations. This may have been understood in San Francisco, but I guess that it was felt that it did not matter too much as the Secretary-General had mainly administrative responsibilities. However, the position of the office of the Secretary-General within the United Nations, explained in part by the fact that he is the only elected officer in principle representing all members, has led to increasingly widespread diplomatic and political activities. This is in response to developing needs. If negotiations are necessary, or if arrangements with a certain intended political impact are to be made, but member nations are not in a position to lay down exact terms of reference, a natural response of the organization is to use the services of the Secretary-General for what they may be worth.

The tasks thus entrusted to the Secretary-General are mostly of such a character that, with the composition of an international Secre-

tariat and of the group of his closest collaborators, with its naturally wide geographical distribution, he must carry out the work on a fairly personal basis. Obviously, there is no parallel to this in the field of national politics or diplomacy, and the case I have described, therefore, highlights one of those essential complications which characterize in the constitutional field the effort to work in the direction of organized international cooperation.

Perhaps a future generation, which knows the outcome of our present efforts, will look at them with some irony. They will see where we fumbled and they will find it difficult to understand why we did not see the direction more clearly and work more consistently towards the target it indicates. So it will always be, but let up hope that they will not find any reason to criticize us because of a lack of that combination of steadfastness of purpose and flexibility of approach which alone can guarantee that the possibilities which we are exploring will have been tested to the full. Working at the edge of the development of human society is to work on the brink of the unknown. Much of what is done will one day prove to have been of little avail. That is no excuse for the failure to act in accordance with our best understanding, in recognition of its limits but with faith in the ultimate result of the creative evolution in which it is our privilege to cooperate.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER REPORTS TO THE NATION

(Excerpts from an address which President Dwight D. Eisenhower made by radio and television to the American people on May 25, 1960, following the collapse on May 16 and 17 of the summit conference in Paris.)

Tonight I want to talk with you about the remarkable events last week in Paris, and their meaning to our future.

First, I am deeply grateful to the many thousands of you, and to representatives in Congress, who sent me messages of encouragement and support while I was in Paris, and later upon my return to Washington. Your messages clearly revealed your abiding loyalty to America's great purpose—that of pursuing, from a position of spiritual, moral and material strength—a lasting peace with justice.

You recall, of course, why I went to Paris ten days ago.

Last summer and fall I had many conversations with world leaders; some of these were with Chairman Khrushchev, here in America. Over those months a small improvement in relations between the Soviet Union and the West seemed discernible. A possibility developed that the Soviet leaders might at last be ready for serious talks about our most persistent problems—those of disarmament, mutual inspection, atomic control, and Germany, including Berlin.

To explore that possibility, our own and the British and French leaders met together, and later we agreed, with the Soviet leaders, to gather in Paris on May 16.

Of course we had no indication or thought that basic Soviet policies had turned about. But when there is even the slightest chance of strengthening peace, there can be no higher obligation than to pursue it.

Nor had our own policies changed. We did hope to make some progress in a summit meeting, unpromising though previous experiences had been. But as we made preparations for this meeting, we did not drop our guard nor relax our vigilance.

Our safety, and that of the free world, demand, of course, effective systems for gathering information about the military capabilities of other powerful nations, especially those that make a fetish of secrecy. This involves many techniques and methods. In these times of vast military machines and nuclear-tipped missiles, the ferreting out of this information is indispensable to free world security.

This has long been one of my most serious preoccupations. It is part of my grave responsibility, within the over-all problem of protecting the American people, to guard ourselves and our allies against surprise attack.

During the period leading up to World War II we learned from bitter experience the imperative necessity of a continuous gathering of intelligence information, the maintenance of military communications and contact, and alertness of command.

An additional word seems appropriate about this matter of communications and command. While the Secretary of Defense and I were in Paris, we were, of course, away from our normal command posts. He recommended that under the circumstances we test the continuing readiness of our military communications. I personally approved. Such tests are valuable and will be frequently repeated in the future.

Moreover, as President, charged by the constitution with the conduct of America's foreign relations, and as Commander-in-Chief, charged with the direction of the operations and activities of our armed forces and their supporting services, I take full responsibility for approving all the various programs undertaken by our government to secure and evaluate military intelligence.

I

It was in the prosecution of one of these intelligence programs that the widely publicized U-2 incident occurred.

Aerial photography has been one of many methods we have used to keep ourselves and the free world abreast of major Soviet military developments. The usefulness of this work has been well established through four years of effort. The Soviets were well aware of it. Chairman Khrushchev has stated that he became aware of these flights several years ago. Only last week, in his Paris press conference, Chairman Khrushchev confirmed that he knew of these flights when he visited the United States last September.

Incidentally, this raises the natural question—why all the furor concerning one particular flight? He did not, when in America last September, charge that these flights were any threat to Soviet safety. He did not then see any reason to refuse to confer with American representatives.

This he did only about the flight that unfortunately failed, on May 1, far inside Russia.

Now, two questions have been raised about this particular flight; first, as to its timing, considering the imminence of the summit meeting; second, our initial statements when we learned the flight had failed.

As to the timing, the question was really whether to halt the program and thus forego the gathering of important information that was essential and that was likely to be unavailable at a later date. The decision was that the program should not be halted.

The plain truth is this: when a nation needs intelligence activity, there is no time when vigilance can be relaxed. Incidentally, from Pearl Harbor we learned that even negotiation itself can be used to conceal preparations for a surprise attack.

Next, as to our government's initial statement about the flight, this was issued to protect the pilot, his mission, and our intelligence processes, at a time when the true facts were still undetermined.

Our first information about the failure of this mission did not disclose whether the pilot was still alive, was trying to escape, was avoiding interrogation, or whether both plane and pilot had been destroyed. Protection of our intelligence system and the pilot, and concealment of the plane's mission, seemed imperative. It must be remembered that over a long period, these flights had given us information of the greatest importance to the nation's security. In fact, their success has been nothing short of remarkable.

For these reasons, what is known in intelligence circles as a "covering statement" was issued. It was issued on assumptions that were later proved incorrect. Consequently, when later the status of the pilot was definitely established, and there was no further possibility of avoiding exposure of the project, the factual details were set forth.

I then made two facts clear to the public: first, our program of aerial reconnaissance had been undertaken with my approval; second, this government is compelled to keep abreast, by one means or another, of military activities of the Soviets, just as their government has for years engaged in espionage activities in our country and throughout the world. Our necessity to proceed with such activities was also asserted by our Secretary of State who, however, had been careful—as was I—not to say that these particular flights would be continued.

In fact, before leaving Washington, I had directed that these U-2 flights be stopped. Clearly their usefulness was impaired. Moreover, continuing this particular activity in these new circumstances could not but complicate the relations of certain of our allies with the Soviets. And of course, new techniques, other than aircraft, are constantly being developed.

Now I wanted no public announcement of this decision until I could personally disclose it at the summit meeting in conjunction with certain proposals I had prepared for the conference.

At my first Paris meeting with Mr. Khrushchev, and before his tirade was made public, I informed him of this discontinuance and the character of the constructive proposals I planned to make. These contemplated the establishment of a system of aerial surveillance operated by the United Nations.

The day before the first scheduled meeting, Mr. Khrushchev had advised President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan that he would

make certain demands upon the United States as a precondition for beginning a summit conference.

Although the United States was the only power against which he expressed his displeasure, he did not communicate this information to me. I was, of course, informed by our allies.

II

At the four power meeting on Monday morning, he demanded of the United States four things: first, condemnation of U-2 flights as a method of espionage; second, assurance that they would not be continued; third, a public apology on behalf of the United States; and, fourth, punishment of all those who had any responsibility respecting this particular mission.

I replied by advising the Soviet leader that I had, during the previous week, stopped these flights and that they would not be resumed. I offered also to discuss the matter with him in personal meetings, while the regular business of the summit might proceed. Obviously, I would not respond to his extreme demands. He knew, of course, by holding to those demands the Soviet Union was scuttling the summit conference.

In torpedoing the conference, Mr. Khrushchev claimed that he acted as the result of his own high moral indignation over alleged American acts of aggression. As I said earlier, he had known of these flights for a long time. It is apparent that the Soviets had decided even before the Soviet delegation left Moscow that my trip to the Soviet Union should be cancelled and that nothing constructive from their viewpoint would come out of the summit conference.

In evaluating the results, however, I think we must not write the record all in red ink. There are several things to be written in the black. Perhaps the Soviet action has turned the clock back in some measure, but it should be noted that Mr. Khrushchev did not go beyond invective—a time-worn Soviet device to achieve an immediate objective. In this case, the wrecking of the conference.

On our side, at Paris, we demonstrated once again America's willingness, and that of her allies, always to go the extra mile in behalf of peace. Once again, Soviet intransigence reminded us all of the unpredictability of despotic rule, and the need for those who work for freedom to stand together in determination and in strength.

III

The conduct of our allies was magnificent. My colleagues and friends—President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan—stood sturdily with the American delegation in spite of persistent Soviet attempts to split the western group. The NATO meeting after the Paris Conference showed unprecedented unity and support for the alliance and for the position taken at the summit meeting. I salute our allies for us all.

And now, most importantly, what about the future?

All of us know that, whether started deliberately or accidentally, global war would leave civilization in a shambles. This is as true of the Soviet system as of all others. In a nuclear war there can be no victors—

only losers. Even despots understand this. Mr. Khrushchev stated last week that he well realizes that general nuclear war would bring catastrophe for both sides. Recognition of this mutual destructive capability is the basic reality of our present relations. Most assuredly, however, this does not mean that we shall ever give up trying to build a more sane and hopeful reality—a better foundation for our common relations.

To do this, here are the policies we must follow, and to these I am confident the great majority of our people, regardless of party, give their support:

First. We must keep up our strength, and hold it steady for the long pull—a strength not neglected in complacency nor overbuilt in hysteria. So doing, we can make it clear to everyone that there can be no gain in the use of pressure tactics or aggression against us and our allies.

Second. We must continue businesslike dealings with the Soviet leaders on outstanding issues, and improve the contacts between our own and the Soviet peoples, making clear that the path of reason and common sense is still open if the Soviets will but use it.

Third. To improve world conditions in which human freedom can flourish, we must continue to move ahead with positive programs at home and abroad, in collaboration with free nations everywhere. In doing so, we shall continue to give our strong support to the United Nations and the great principles for which it stands.

Now as to the first of these purposes—our defenses are sound. They are tailored to the situation confronting us.

Their adequacy has been my primary concern for these past seven years—indeed throughout my adult life.

In no respect have the composition and size of our forces been based on or affected by any Soviet blandishment. Nor will they be. We will continue to carry forward the great improvements already planned in these forces. They will be kept ready—and under constant review.

Any changes made necessary by technological advances or world events will be recommended at once.

This strength—by far the most potent on earth—is, I emphasize, for deterrent, defensive and retaliatory purposes only, without threat or aggressive intent toward anyone.

IV

Concerning the second part of our policy—relations with the Soviets—we and all the world realize, despite our recent disappointment, that progress toward the goal of mutual understanding, easing the causes of tensions, and reduction of armaments is as necessary as ever.

We shall continue these peaceful efforts, including participation in the existing negotiations with the Soviet Union. In these negotiations we have made some progress. We are prepared to preserve and build on it. The Allied Paris communique and my own statement on returning to the United States should have made this abundantly clear to the Soviet government.

We conduct these negotiations not on the basis of surface harmony nor are we deterred by any bad deportment we meet. Rather we ap-

proach them as a careful search for common interests between the western allies and the Soviet Union on specific problems.

I have in mind, particularly, the nuclear test and disarmament negotiations. We shall not back away, on account of recent events, from the efforts or commitments that we have undertaken.

Nor shall we relax our search for new means of reducing the risk of war by miscalculation, and of achieving verifiable arms control.

V

A major American goal is a world of open societies.

Here in our country anyone can buy maps and aerial photographs showing our cities, our dams, our plants, our highways—indeed, our whole industrial and economic complex. We know that Soviet attaches regularly collect this information. Last fall Chairman Khrushchev's train passed no more than a few hundred feet from an operational ICBM, in plain view from his window. Our thousands of books and scientific journals, our magazines, newspapers and official publications, our radio and television, all openly describe to all the world every aspect of our society.

This is as it should be. We are proud of our freedom.

Soviet distrust, however, does still remain. To allay these misgivings I offered five years ago to open our skies to Soviet reconnaissance aircraft on a reciprocal basis. The Soviets refused. That offer is still open. At an appropriate time America will submit such a program to the United Nations, together with the recommendation that the United Nations itself conduct this reconnaissance. Should the United Nations accept this proposal, I am prepared to propose that America supply part of the aircraft and equipment required.

This is a photograph of the North Island Naval Station in San Diego, California. It was taken from an altitude of more than seventy thousand feet. You may not perhaps be able to see them on your television screens, but the white lines in the parking strips around the field are clearly discernible from thirteen miles up. Those lines are just six inches wide.

Obviously most of the details necessary for a military evaluation of the airfield and its aircraft are clearly distinguishable.

I show you this photograph as an example of what could be accomplished through United Nations aerial surveillance.

Indeed, if the United Nations should undertake this policy, this program, and the great nations of the world should accept it, I am convinced that not only can all humanity be assured that they are safe from any surprise attack from any quarter, but indeed the greatest tensions of all, the fear of war, would be removed from the world. I sincerely hope that the United Nations may adopt such a program.

As far as we in America are concerned, our programs for increased contacts between all peoples will continue. Despite the suddenly expressed hostility of the men in the Kremlin, I remain convinced that the basic longings of the Soviet people are much like our own. I believe that Soviet citizens have a sincere friendship for the people of America. I

deeply believe that above all else they want a lasting peace and a chance for a more abundant life in place of more and more instruments of war.

Finally, turning to the third part of America's policy—the strengthening of freedom—we must do far more than concern ourselves with military defense against, and our relations with, the Communist bloc. Beyond this, we must advance constructive programs throughout the world for the betterment of peoples in the newly developing nations. The zigs and zags of the Kremlin cannot be allowed to disturb our world-wide programs and purposes. In the period ahead, these programs could well be the decisive factor in our persistent search for peace in freedom.

To the peoples in the newly developing nations urgently needed help will surely come. If it does not come from us and our friends, these peoples will be driven to seek it from the enemies of freedom. Moreover, those joined with us in defense partnerships look to us for proof of our steadfastness. We must not relax our common security efforts.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER REPORTS TO THE PEOPLE

(Excerpts from the report on his Far Eastern trip which President Dwight D. Eisenhower made by radio and television to the American people on June 27, 1960.)

I have just returned to Washington from a trip to the Far East. It has been a trip so marked by events of significance that I shall try this evening to give you a simple background of fact, against which these recent events can be viewed in perspective.

To begin, a few personal observations on the trip I have just concluded:

First, American relations with the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea and Okinawa have been strengthened.

Second, the people of these Far Eastern lands took advantage of the opportunity given by this visit to demonstrate anew their long and ardent friendship with and for the people of America. The American people are gratified, I am sure, as am I, by these heartwarming demonstrations.

Third, the ratification of the Mutual Security Treaty between the United States and Japan represents an important victory for the free world—a defeat for international communism.

I

And now, let's look at the background of this trip—and the others I have taken in the interest of world peace.

This trip was planned as one of a series which have, in toto, taken me nearly around the world, to twenty-seven nations of Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, North Africa, the Americas, and the Far East. Those nations I have visited during the last ten months have populations reaching an aggregate of over a billion people.

To understand where these visits fit in to the over-all foreign relations of this government we must go back to 1953, to the time when I

was assessing the world situation with the late Secretary of State Dulles, preparatory to my assumption of the office of the Presidency.

At that time we recognized that the Communists had, for some years following the conclusion of World War II, taken advantage of the chaotic aftermath of conflict—and of our own self-imposed military disarmament—to indulge in a continuous campaign of aggression and subversion in Asia and Eastern Europe. They had disrupted the lives of millions of free people, causing lowered living standards and exhausted economies. China and its half billion people had been lost to the free world. The war in Korea, then in condition of stalemate, still dragged on.

We began our studies with one essential fact before us. It had become clear, by 1953, that the accumulation of atomic weapon stockpiles, whose use could destroy civilization, made resort to force an intolerable means for settling international disputes. Only in the rule of law—which meant the attainment of an enduring peace with justice could mankind hope for guarantee against extinction.

With these facts in mind we concluded, and have since been guided by the conviction, that there were several things which we should do simultaneously, all of them in conformity with the ideals expressed in the Charter of the United Nations.

It was, and is, mandatory to present before the world, constantly and vigorously, America's great desire for peace and her readiness to sit at the conference table to discuss specific problems with anyone who would show an equal readiness to negotiate honestly and in good faith. This we continue to do in spite of difficulties such as the regrettable action of the Soviet delegation in walking out of the Ten-Nation Disarmament Conference at Geneva this morning. But, from the very beginning we have made it clear that until real progress toward mutual disarmament could be achieved, our first concern would be to keep our own defenses strong, modern, and alert.

We tried to identify all those areas in the world where serious trouble could erupt suddenly, and developed suggestions for correcting the causes of unrest and of enhancing stability in such localities. Through cooperation with our friends we have succeeded in removing causes of friction in many of these areas.

II

In support of these purposes, we have sought, from the beginning, frequent personal contact with responsible governmental officials of friendly nations. Indeed, we have felt it wise, also, to seek to improve communications between ourselves and the Soviet government. Akin to this effort was one which has come to be called the people-to-people program—a completely new type of venture in international relations which has been amazingly successful.

Along with these objectives, we have constantly striven to devise better methods of cooperation with our friends, working out with them programs by which together we could improve our common security and raise living standards. Our Mutual Security Program has been and is a vital means of making such cooperation effective.

To carry out the purpose of proclaiming and demonstrating to the world America's peaceful intentions, we first made a number of policy

statements and a series of concrete proposals that might lead to fruitful discussions with the Soviets.

As early as April of 1953, I suggested disarmament talks with the Soviets and pledged that I would urge the United States to apply a substantial portion of any savings realized through mutually acceptable disarmament to the improvement of living standards in the less developed nations.

Later that year I proposed, before the United Nations General Assembly, that we devote all discoveries in atomic science to peaceful uses. Nineteen months later at Geneva I suggested the Open Skies method of mutual inspection.

In the meantime, the Secretary of State set out tirelessly to make calls on friendly governments and to strengthen collective security. In return we issued invitations to heads of state to visit America and her people. Other good will visits were concurrently made by the Vice President and other personal representatives.

Many heads of government or state responded promptly to our invitations to visit this country. In the past seven and a half years, more than seventy heads of state and prime ministers have come to the United States (some of them several times) in visits extending from a few days to some weeks. In this respect the period has been without precedent. Other visitors are to come in the near future. Indeed, tomorrow we shall be honored by the arrival in Washington on such a visit of the King and Queen of Thailand, and later in the year the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan, and the King and Queen of Denmark.

I early began to receive urgent invitations to make return visits to the countries whose heads had paid us the courtesy of coming to see America and our way of life.

Many months ago we concluded that I should personally accept some of these invitations, as opportunity should present itself. Secretary Herter, first as Under Secretary of State and later as Secretary of State, enthusiastically concurred. Overseas visits by me, all of us felt, would be a strong support of other successful programs.

The great value resulting from these journeys to twenty-seven nations has been obvious here and abroad. Throughout the world there has been opportunity to emphasize and re-emphasize America's devotion to peace with justice; her determination to sustain freedom and to strengthen free world security through our cooperative programs; her readiness to sacrifice in helping to build the kind of world we want.

These visits involved, of course, valuable conversations between heads of state and government, as well as the promotion of understanding among peoples.

However, except for so-called summit and the NATO heads of government meeting, none of my visits has been planned or carried out solely as a diplomatic mission seeking specific agreements, even though discussions have invariably involved important issues.

Incidentally, I believe that heads of state and government can, occasionally, and preferably on an informal basis, profitably meet for conversations on broad problems and principles. They can, of course, also convene to give solemn approval to agreements previously prepared by normal diplomatic methods.

But heads of government meetings are not effective mechanisms for developing detailed provisions of international compacts, and have never been so considered by this government.

On the other hand, the good will aspects of a visit by a head of government can frequently bring about favorable results far transcending those of normal diplomatic conferences. They have resulted in the creation of a more friendly atmosphere and mutual confidence between peoples. They have proved effective in bringing closer together nations that respect human dignity and are dedicated to freedom.

Indeed it seems apparent that the Communists, some time ago, reached the conclusion that these visits were of such positive value to the free world as to obstruct Communist imperialism. Thus they have sought every possible method to stop them. Through their propaganda they bitterly opposed my entry into the Philippines, in Taiwan, in Okinawa, in Korea, and, of course, Japan.

In Paris last month they advanced false and elaborate excuses for cancelling my invitation to visit the Soviet Union, when all that was necessary to say was that they found it inconvenient to receive me.

With their associates in Peiping, they went to great lengths and expense to create disorders in Tokyo that compelled the Japanese government to decide, under conditions then existing, that it should revoke its long-standing invitation for me to visit that sister democracy.

These disorders were not occasioned by America. We in the United States must not fall into the error of blaming ourselves for what the Communists do; after all, Communists will act like Communists.

One clear proof of the value, to us, of these visits is the intensity of the opposition the Communists have developed against them.

III

Respecting Japan, in spite of the outrageous conduct of a violent and disorderly minority, I have been assured that the people there were, in overwhelming majority, anxious to welcome me as a representative of a nation with which they wished to cooperate and to have friendly relations.

Of course, the basic objective of the Communist-inspired disorders in Tokyo was to bring about the rejection by the Japanese government of the treaty. That the Communists were defeated in their frantic efforts to prevent ratification of that treaty speaks well for the future of Japanese-American relations. Obviously that signal defeat for international communism far outweighs, in importance, the blocking of my scheduled visit.

Another purpose of the Communist-inspired riots in Tokyo was to weaken confidence between our peoples and to persuade the United States to change its basic policies toward Japan. It would be a tremendous victory for international communism if we were to permit the unhappy events of the past several weeks in Japan to disrupt our economic relationships with that nation; or to weaken the feeling of friendship and understanding which unites the vast majority of the Japanese and American people.

Japan has once again become a great nation. Over the postwar years she has painstakingly created a new image of herself, the image of a

responsible, peaceful and cooperative free world nation, mindful of her obligations and of the rights of others. Japan has made a fine record in the United Nations as well as elsewhere on the international stage.

Since the loss of mainland China to the Communists in 1949, the need to link the other nations of the Far East with the United States more strongly, in their mutual interest, should be apparent to all. We seek, and continue to build and strengthen, these links with Japan as well as with the other countries, by actions of many kinds—of which my recent trip was but a single example. In the present circumstances, a Far Eastern policy of "waiting for the dust to settle" will not meet the free world's need.

The other free countries of the Far East, small in relation to the massive area and immense population of Red China, can survive in freedom and flourish only in cooperative association with the United States and a free Japan. Through our aid programs, through our bilateral and collective defensive arrangements such as SEATO, through our very presence in the area, we help them greatly. And a free and friendly Japan can reinforce this American effort, as indeed she is already doing through aid programs of her own.

Because of the Prime Minister's necessary withdrawal of his urgent invitation of last winter for me to visit Japan on June 19, I was of course unable to meet with the Japanese Government and people, or to bring to them assurances of American good will. This was disappointing, but we should not forget the favorable effects of visits elsewhere in the Far East, as well as the final approval of the Japanese-American treaty by both governments. Moreover, the general improvement that has come about through exchanges of visits by friendly heads of government is recognized and appreciated throughout the free world.

IV

I wish that every one of you could have accompanied me to Manila, Taipei, and Korea and thus witnessed for yourselves the outpouring of friendship, gratitude and respect for America. The throngs of people there, like the many millions who, during earlier journeys, lined the streets of great cities in the Mid-East, Europe, North Africa, South America—as well as in Canada and Mexico—had one overwhelming message for our nation.

That message, expressed in glowing faces, friendly shouts, songs, gaily painted placards, and home-made signs, was that they wanted to be partners with the United States. They share our ideals of dignity of man and the equality of all before the law—they believe in their God; they believe that the American people are their friends. They believe that Americans are sincerely devoted to their progress which means so much to them, and which is so evident on every side.

These demonstrations have been inspiring to all who have not closed their eyes and minds to their meaning. Moreover, the leaders of the free peoples I have met here or abroad have assured me, privately and publicly, that they approve of America's purposes and policies, even though details of implementation are frequently subjects for discussion or negotiation. They have expressed the hope that visits to their coun-

tries by the senior officials of our government might be of greater frequency. They have shown to me evidence of their marked material progress through American cooperation. They have testified to the reborn hope and restored confidence of their peoples.

Let me stress, however, that all the profit gained by past and any possible future trips will be quickly dissipated should we Americans abandon our present course in foreign relations or slacken our efforts in cooperative programs with our friends.

This is what the Communists want. It is imperative that we act with mature judgment.

We must recognize their tactics as a deliberate attempt to split the free world, causing friction between allies and friends. We must not fall into this trap; all of us must remain firm and steadfast in our united dedication to freedom, and, to peace with justice.

Above all, we must bear in mind that successful implementation of any policy against Communist imperialism requires that we never be bluffed, cajoled, blinded or frightened. We cannot win out against the Communist purpose to dominate the world by being timid, passive, or apologetic when we are acting in our own and the free world's interests. We must accept the risks of bold action with coolness and courage.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

(Excerpts from an address by Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Representative to the United Nations, at the Tenth Annual Conference of National Organizations called by the American Association for the United Nations at Washington, D. C., March 7, 1960.)

It is seldom that I speak to an audience which knows as much about the United Nations as you do. You and I have certain experiences in common. We have watched the United Nations closely. We realize its limitations. We know that it lacks any of the powers of government and that it depends on the willingness of member states *voluntarily* to live up to the Charter. But we are also aware that the United Nations is a unique and practical device, a great center of influence, and an extraordinary engine for mobilizing world opinion. For fourteen years it has struggled with big events and has tried to bring to bear on those events the standards of conduct laid down in the Charter.

The successes of the United Nations have also been successes for the United States. During my service as United States representative in the last seven of these fourteen years, I have seen the security and peace of the United States served by many concrete United Nations accomplishments. For example:

At the end of the Korean war the United Nations insisted on an honest peace conference and rejected the attempt of the Soviet Union to sit at the peace table in the guise of a benevolent "neutral."

When the Communists were trying to subvert the Monroe Doctrine and take over Guatemala, the Security Council defeated their attempt to make the United Nations an accomplice—and the subversion failed.

When Red China held back fifteen American fliers in a game of political blackmail, the General Assembly demanded their release—and that resolution played a decisive part in bringing them safely home.

When the Suez crisis threatened to touch off a big war, the Assembly's resolutions for a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces were carried out and the United Nations Emergency Force was created and put into the field in a matter of days.

When the Soviet Union tried to frighten the free world by complaining about American bomber flights over the Arctic, we proposed in the Security Council an Arctic "open sky" inspection plan which got ten votes in the council and was vetoed by the Soviets—thus causing their propaganda drive to collapse and proving our sincerity to the world.

The United Nations was useful to us in all those conflicts—none of which we started, but with all of which we had to deal. It has also been tremendously useful as a center of creative cooperation.

President Eisenhower's atoms-for-peace speech at the United Nations in 1953 resulted in the creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency, with the Soviet Union as a member.

In the same spirit we have created a United Nations Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, which we hope will meet soon with the Soviet Union present for the first time.

I

Now let me talk about the economic side, which has grown in urgency as the number of independent—and underdeveloped—states has increased.

There is the Technical Assistance program, begun in 1950, which has grown steadily in size and in effectiveness.

Then, to spur investment for economic development, we started the United Nations Special Fund which, under the direction of Paul Hoffman, is carrying out indispensable preinvestment surveys and technical education in fifty countries.

This year we are founding a new International Development Association, which will be affiliated with the World Bank and will thus be a part of the United Nations family, with an initial capital of one billion dollars.

The advantages of the multilateral way are clear, and I should like to list them:

1. In these programs our dollars are more than matched by the dollars put in by those countries which also contribute.

2. Then the countries which receive make further matching efforts of their own. Thus we get more for our money from both contributors and from recipients—sometimes as much as seven dollars for every dollar which the United States puts in.

3. The necessary experts are recruited not only from the United States but from scores of other countries. Well-qualified experts can often be obtained outside the United States at salaries half that which it costs to get an American expert.

4. These programs are so obviously insulated against political manipulation that they are welcomed in places where bilateral pro-

grams—however unjustifiably in our case—would be suspect. Thus there is less risk of having our purposes misunderstood and resented. Instead we get credit for helping an altruistic United Nations program.

5. It is also true that you get more for your money when the recipient nation feels that it is participating in the planning and carrying out of the program. This was proved time and again in the operation of the Marshall plan when the Organization for European Economic Cooperation formulated the plans which were then carried out by the members.

6. Nor should we lose sight of the fact that the United Nations can push a recipient government in a way that no sovereign government can ever push another. No consideration of prestige is involved, nor can the cry of "imperialism" or of "intervention" be raised when it is the gentle friendly pressure of the ever-helpful United Nations—particularly when the recipient nation itself is a member of the United Nations.

7. Decisions must be taken in operating any economic program which disappoint or displease. How much better it is for us not to be the ones who cause disappointment or displeasure and for this to be done by an international organization which is not a "foreign country."

8. There is another selfish reason, from the United States point of view, why reliance should be placed on an international method of operation. As Paul Hoffman recently said: "The countries of Western Europe, now fully recovered, are able to invest more in underdeveloped areas than they are now doing. Their gold and foreign exchange holdings, as well as their capacity to earn more, are increasing. The United States, on the other hand, is facing a continued deficit in its balance of payments, and its gold stocks are declining. It is clearly to our interest to spread the responsibility for investment in the underdeveloped areas and to induce other countries to make their maximum contribution." The way to do this is through the multilateral economic programs bearing the United Nations label.

9. Finally, because of the major part we play in these programs, we are fully protected against unsound use of the money. Some very intelligent and well-disposed people have not understood this fact.

Let me illustrate:

I have actually heard some persons say that our funds, when put into a multilateral United Nations program, would be subject to the Soviet veto—or that they would be subject to an adverse vote in the General Assembly. Nothing could be more wildly inaccurate and more totally impossible. In the World Bank and in the IDA, for example, voting is on a weighted basis, according to the capital subscribed. In the United Nations Special Fund the governing body is so constituted as to make impossible any action opposed by the nations of the free world. The same is true of United Nations technical assistance.

Now there are enough real complications in the world without manufacturing extra ones which do not exist. The influence of the United States and of the free world in all these multilateral programs is such that, while they cannot—and should not—be used to promote our special interests, it is absolutely impossible for them to be turned against us. They do, obviously, serve our long-range interest in a peaceful, more prosperous world.

For all these reasons it is in the United States' interests to use the multilateral aid of the United Nations to the maximum, and I believe this will be done increasingly in the future.

It is significant that to date the Soviet Union has made only a token contribution to these United Nations aid programs. This is not good for humanity in general and for the underdeveloped countries in particular, because multilateral aid frees a weak underdeveloped country from the natural fear that it will become a battleground for politics between the superpowers. As long as the Soviet Union refuses to support these programs wholeheartedly it will be suspected of using its economic aid for selfish motives—for attaching "strings" to its aid.

Prime Minister Khrushchev said to the General Assembly last September that the United Nations has a duty to "contribute to the utmost to the economic advancement of the new states which are rising from the ruins of the colonial system, to help them speedily to develop their national economies." And he said that this must be done "without any political or other strings attached." But the Soviet Government has not yet carried out this policy.

If the Soviets should ever choose to compete, not for political advantage but for the honor of having done the most to help peoples who seek a better life, the United Nations offers them an unmatched way to do so. They could, if they chose, contribute many times more to United Nations technical assistance programs—and in convertible currency. They could even join the World Bank and the Monetary Fund and the International Development Association.

I do not expect them to do these things soon—but, until they do, the nations will inescapably judge for themselves whether Soviet aid is disinterested or not.

II

In the midst of all these events the United Nations has continued to grow. In fact, that growth—from sixty to eighty-two members—is the greatest single change in the United Nations in recent years. Still others will join this year, mostly from Africa. In another ten years the organization may well have one hundred members. It seems as though everyone wants to get in and no one wants to get out.

Now there is no need to pretend that this growth in membership has not caused more work for the United States. There are more people whom one must try to persuade, and that means more work. More people are trying to persuade us. It is certainly harder now for any nation to muster a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly on a controversial question than it used to be. But this may not be a bad thing, because an organization as influential and as weighty as the United Nations should not express itself too glibly.

As we look ahead it seems certain that the United Nations will remain what diplomats call a "power fact," with which countries will have to cope whether they like it or not. There is certainly no reason for the United States to fear its growth. For us it is a priceless asset and an unceasing opportunity. Neither we nor any nation is so powerful that we do not need friends or that we can with impunity disregard world opinion. Indeed, as a wise Englishman wrote fifty years ago, the

sheer power of a great nation will only "inspire universal jealousy and fear" unless its policy is designed "to harmonize with the general desires and ideals common to all mankind." Our United States policies have been successful because they do so harmonize.

The United Nations has always been important as a great center for that harmonizing. Now it is more so than ever. To an increasing number of new nations membership in it is the greatest tangible proof to the world that they are now sovereign. That is the main reason why they attach such great importance to it. There is no better way for the United States to keep their confidence, and to prove that we ungrudgingly and wholeheartedly welcome their sovereignty, than for us to work with them through the United Nations.

Our foreign policy must have more than physical strength, vital though that is. It must also have great and magnanimous purposes, and it must find ways to express those purposes so that the peoples of the world will understand and welcome them. Economic cooperation through the United Nations is, preeminently, such a way. Indeed it can be one of the indispensable ingredients of peace on earth.

WORLD POPULATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

(Excerpts from an address by Francis O. Wilcox, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, before the Tenth Annual Conference of the International Association of Personnel Women at New York, N. Y., April 29, 1960.)

It is significant that most of the future increase in world population will take place in the less developed areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These are regions where, in general, population already presses very heavily upon available resources.

That the world's population may grow from less than three billion today to six or seven billion by the end of the century is not in itself so disquieting; what is disquieting is that most of this expansion will take place among those people who are already living at subsistence levels—and that it may take place within the short span of forty years.

These possibilities raise difficult questions: How are the less developed areas to achieve economic and social improvement, without which political freedom loses much of its meaning? Can economic and social development come fast enough in the next four decades to prevent deplorably low living standards from falling even further behind?

Here we face a very discouraging fact. Already some less developed areas are finding it difficult to keep their economies expanding as rapidly as their population. The per capita product in Latin America is now rising more slowly than during the early post war years. And in most of Asia and Africa, there has been only modest improvement in living standards, despite the intensive programs of economic development that have been carried on for more than a decade in some of these countries. Food production seems to be falling behind or barely keeping pace with population growth in several countries of southeast Asia, Africa, and in some parts of Latin America. Though they may plant more acres and grow more food, there are always more people to feed.

Rapid population growth can, in itself, seriously hinder the economic and social development of low-income countries.

The straits in which these growing populations find themselves as they strive for advancement are not omens of the inevitable futility of their efforts, nor the hopelessness of their aspirations. They do, however, make inescapably clear that the vicious circle of poverty engendering poverty can be broken only with outside help. This prodigious challenge—this unparalleled opportunity—to aid the underprivileged peoples of the world to triumph over poverty, disease, and ignorance, and, may I add, over subversion from within and without, is one which the United States and the United Nations have been glad to accept.

The United States' Response to the Challenge

What is our answer to this challenge? What are we in the United States—and our free-world associates in the United Nations—doing to help the less developed areas help themselves to progress? It is an important objective of United States foreign policy to help these countries achieve satisfactory economic growth so that they may preserve their freedom and develop into stable, effective societies.

The task of aiding these nations is, however, so tremendous in terms of both capital and imagination that it calls for the cooperative efforts of all the economically advanced nations of the free world. We have sought therefore to channel a substantial share of our assistance to the less developed areas through the United Nations and other multilateral organizations. At the same time we have made a massive governmental response, on a bilateral basis, principally through the Mutual Security Program.

The purpose of the Mutual Security Program is to help other people to help themselves. We seek to aid them in developing political and economic systems which will achieve enough self-generating vitality to sustain further progress under their own power.

Our help in developing the human skills so lacking in the less developed countries and in making available the knowledge and expertise of our civilization is furnished largely through technical assistance programs. Thousands of American experts are working overseas in more than sixty nations in agriculture, education, public health, and many other fields. These men and women are working with the peoples of other nations to develop their skills and economies—and thus to give substance to their aspirations.

Our help in material resources, in the financing of development, is furnished in the form of both grant and loan assistance. In addition, the United States continues to be the chief contributor of assistance through the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and other international bodies. Since the United Nations' establishment in 1945, the United States has contributed three and three-tenths billion dollars to the United Nations, its specialized agencies other than the Bank and the Fund, and voluntary programs.

Certainly no one can accuse our country of pinching pennies in connection with our foreign aid programs. If we add to the Marshall plan and the Mutual Security Program the contributions we have made

through the United States Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, and various other types of assistance, our total foreign aid since 1945 approximates seventy-two billion dollars. This figure ought to be clear proof of our deep interest in helping to build a prosperous and peaceful world.

The United Nations' Response to the Challenge

The nature and amount of United States assistance to the less developed countries are probably more familiar to you than are the character and scope of aid extended through the United Nations and its specialized agencies. We might well, therefore, turn our attention to some of the representative accomplishments of this latter group.

Before doing so, however, I might note that, curiously enough, there are still a few people who are critical of the fact that our government gives some of its aid through the United Nations. There are at least three very sound reasons for doing so:

1. The United States has found aid through United Nations channels to be an advantageous complement to our own bilateral aid programs. When we can share costs with eighty other countries, it is obviously far cheaper than if we were to carry the entire burden alone.

2. Utilization of the growing United Nations pool of manpower and training resources helps speed up economic development, which is our basic goal. Moreover, our supply of American experts is inadequate to meet all the needs of the less developed areas.

3. Many of the less developed countries, some of whom are jealous of their newly won sovereignty, prefer aid through the United Nations for political reasons. They are inclined to look upon United Nations programs as cooperative ventures in which all member countries, no matter what their size or wealth, have a voice and most of them make a contribution.

The needs of the less developed areas have naturally determined the character of assistance rendered by the United Nations and its specialized agencies. These requirements have been, above all, for technical know-how, for capital investment, and for good health and adequate nutrition.

United Nations Program of Technical Assistance

No less urgent than the low-income countries' needs for capital are their needs for trained man-power. Only a small number of their people have gained an education; only a few have held positions of responsibility. So, there are pressing requirements for people trained in the managerial, technical, and vocational skills essential to development programs. To help provide these skills, the United Nations Technical Assistance Program has sent eight thousand experts of seventy-seven nationalities to assist one hundred and forty-five countries and territories in their economic development.

I would like to point out that this assistance program is by no means a one-way street. While receiving aid themselves, many less developed

countries have at the same time provided experts for assignment elsewhere.

If managerial and technical skills are prerequisites for economic development, still they must be accompanied by sufficient capital investment to produce tangible progress.

United Nations Special Fund

If the less developed countries are to raise their standards of production and consumption, the output per worker—on the farm and in the factory—must be increased. This means adding mechanical power to muscle power. It means capital investment in creating power supplies, building factories and developing natural resources.

To encourage capital investment in the low-income countries, the United Nations Special Fund finances natural-resources surveys, applied research, and technical training. It does not itself provide funds for capital investment, but it does open doors to productive investment.

The Special Fund's activities are a recent supplement to those of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund, the International Finance Corporation, and the proposed International Development Association. These multilateral institutions, under United Nations auspices, are instrumental in helping the less developed countries to obtain capital and maintain monetary stability.

Food and Agriculture Organization

Essential to the sustained hard work required for economic and social achievement are good health and adequate food. A people weakened by malnutrition and debilitated by illness cannot meet—either in terms of physical effort or creative thought—the great tasks that confront them.

If all the earth's millions sat down together at one gigantic dinner table, more than half of them would leave hungry after the meal. That, in effect, is how the FAO, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, pictures the world food situation. The problem is how to fill existing plates more adequately and at the same time fill new plates for the more than one hundred thousand persons being added to the world's population every day.

Toward solving this problem, the world must use its land and seas and other resources more efficiently. The job of FAO is to help realize this—by modernizing farming methods, enriching the soil, using better seeds, working out irrigation and flood-control systems, expanding livestock herds, controlling plant and animal diseases and improving fishing methods.

Notwithstanding the efforts of FAO and of government programs all over the world, the problem of hunger has by no means been solved. The experience of industrially advanced countries demonstrates, however, that, by application of scientific methods and proper management of the national economy, productivity can be raised to heights hitherto believed unattainable.

World Health Organization

In view of the difficulties in providing the peoples of the less developed areas with adequate food, some people may be tempted to ask whether improving health standards, saving lives, and increasing the life span are really helping solve the population problem—or whether the net effect of such humanitarianism is to intensify the pressure of population upon resources.

To this question I would say, first of all, that belief in the dignity and worth of the individual is one of the basic values of our democracy. To deny to any man the priceless boon of good health—a vital prerequisite to the good life and the realization of his potentialities—would be unthinkable.

Quite apart, however, from any moral consideration, it is obvious that a healthy, vigorous people is essential to national progress and results in increased productivity.

To give the world's underprivileged peoples health and strength to work for their own betterment, the World Health Organization, WHO, has done much since its establishment twelve years ago under United Nations auspices. It has given first priority to an effective control of major communicable diseases, man's ancient scourges. The less developed nations, with aid and guidance from WHO and the United States, have made a magnificent onslaught against them. Malaria has been reduced by fifty per cent, from three hundred million to one hundred and fifty million cases a year. Substantial progress has also been made in combating other scourges—yaws, yellow fever, leprosy, trachoma, smallpox, and tuberculosis.

Besides its campaigns against mass infectious diseases, WHO is building the enduring bases of good health. This it does through assistance in public-health administration, maternal and child health, public-health nursing, environmental sanitation, and, most basic of all, in training.

Concluding Comment

In brief compass, then, we have seen that the population "explosion" confronts the entire world with a challenge of the first magnitude. Our own response, and that of our free-world associates, to the underprivileged peoples' aspirations—for freedom from want, disease, and ignorance—inspires confidence that man will prove master, not victim, of his environment.

Heartening as the results of this world-wide cooperation are, formidable tasks have yet to be accomplished. Above all, economic growth must proceed at a faster rate if the race between economic progress and advancing population is to be won.

Personally I do not believe there is any danger that the world's population explosion will lead to anything like large-scale starvation. It will, however, make exceedingly difficult the task of raising the living standards of people in the less developed areas.

Simply put, world production must increase faster than people. The total world product must be increased so that the economic pie can be cut into big enough slices for everyone.

AMBASSADOR LODGE REPLIES TO SOVIET CHARGES

(Excerpts from the statement which Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Representative to the United Nations, made to the U. N. Security Council on May 23, 1960, following the presentation of Soviet charges concerning the U-2 airplane incident.)

The United States has not committed any aggressive acts against the Soviet Union or any other country, either through its Air Force or through any other agency of the United States Government. And in the remarks which I am about to make I will try to show why my contention is true.

Now let me take up the Soviet representative's main points. He asserts first that flights over the USSR continue to be "the state policy" of the United States. This assertion is directly and, I fear, deliberately contrary to fact. Surely the Soviet representative knows this, because he was present when President Eisenhower in Paris on May 16 said:

"These activities had no aggressive intent but rather were to assure the safety of the United States and the free world against surprise attack by a power which boasts of its ability to devastate the United States and other countries by missiles armed with atomic warheads. As is well known, not only the United States but most other countries are constantly the targets of elaborate and persistent espionage of the Soviet Union.

"There is in the Soviet statement an evident misapprehension on one key point. It alleges that the United States has, through official statements, threatened continued overflights. The importance of this alleged threat was emphasized and repeated by Mr. Khrushchev. The United States has made no such threat. Neither I nor my government has intended any. The actual statements go no further than to say that the United States will not shirk its responsibility to safeguard against surprise attack.

"In point of fact, these flights were suspended after the recent incident and are not to be resumed. Accordingly this cannot be the issue."

I will read that last paragraph once again:

"In point of fact, these flights were suspended after the recent incident and are not to be resumed. Accordingly this cannot be the issue."

Now Mr. Gromyko has just claimed, as does the Soviet memorandum, that this is merely a "tactical step," a "temporary suspension" announced with "the object of deluding world opinion."

Well, you have just heard the President's words yourselves. These flights were suspended after the recent incident and are not to be resumed.

And let me say for the information of this council that this decision was made before the President's departure for Paris and cannot be characterized in the way Mr. Gromyko has tried to characterize it.

Furthermore, I am authorized to say that the United States is prepared to negotiate an open skies treaty with the Soviet Union which would have continued force and effect and which would obviate forever the necessity of such measures of self-protection.

The USSR asserts secondly, and I quote from its memorandum, that the United States has undertaken "flights inside the frontiers of the USSR for aggressive purposes."

Now I realize that the term "aggression" has never been officially defined, but any common-sense definition of the term shows that the presence of a light, unarmed, single-engine, non-military, one-man plane is not aggression.

Yet this is what all the trouble in Paris and here at the United Nations is said to be all about—about this one plane.

Chairman Khrushchev said both in Moscow and Paris that he has known of these flights for a long time. These flights were not considered dangerous enough to complain about last year when Chairman Khrushchev and the President met *privately*. Therefore, it is hard to understand why such flights are suddenly described as aggressive and of urgent concern when Chairman Khrushchev met President Eisenhower *publicly*, ostensibly for peaceful negotiations. We can only speculate about Soviet reasons for increasing tension now by bringing this matter to the Security Council today.

Now if we were to use the same reasoning which the Soviet Union has used, we could bring up as an aggressive act the presence of the Soviet vessel which was right off the shores of Long Island, right off Montauk Point here, a few weeks ago, and which was deliberately interfering with vessels of the United States Navy. We could do that, but we will not do so.

We could, under the same interpretation of aggression, bring up as an aggressive act the repeated violations of our American *ground* space and the ground space of many other countries represented here by Soviet spies. We could, for instance, enter in detail into the cases of the following illustrative list of spies, all of whom are among those unmasked in the United States in the period of time which has elapsed since the death of Marshal Stalin. I will read a few of these names:

Amosov, Igor Aleksandrovich—he is a Commander. Pivnev, Leonid Yegorovich—Lieutenant Colonel. Bubchikov, Ivan Aleksandrovich—Colonel. Krylov, Yuriy Pavlovich—Major. Kurochkin, Nikolay Ivanovich. Molev, Vasiliy Mikhaylovich. Kovalev, Aleksandr Petrovich. Martynov, Maksim Grigoryevich—he is a Colonel. Petrov, Viktor Ivanovich. Gladkov, Boris Fedorovich—he is a Captain. Kirilyuk, Vadim A.

Let me point out that this agent Kirilyuk was actually caught in an act of espionage seeking data on cryptographic machines during the visit of Chairman Khrushchev to the United States, as a matter of fact, at the very moment that Chairman Khrushchev was speaking from the rostrum of the General Assembly about disarmament.

We might even make something of the fact that at least one of the agents whose names I have listed was getting photographs of United States strategic places—and, may I say, these photographs were taken at heights far lower than sixty-five thousand feet.

We understand also that at least three hundred and sixty Russian espionage agents have been convicted in different countries of the free world. All of these convictions were obtained under free court systems, which means that ample proof of the charges was made.

The number of these convictions represents only a minor proportion of those cases in which Soviet espionage activity has been actually involved. We remember Fuchs, Guzenko, Petrov and Gubichev. We do

not need to recall the case of Col. Rudolph Ivanovich Abel right here in New York.

We shall not dwell on these things or all the names of spies caught while Marshal Stalin was in power or bring any of them up, using the logic which the Soviet Union has used, as aggressive acts.

But what we do strongly deplore is the refusal of the Soviet Union to accept the President's Open Sky Plan in 1955, its refusal to heed General Assembly Resolution 914 of the Tenth Session calling on it to permit aerial inspection, its rejection of the Arctic aerial inspection zone in 1958, which all ten other members of the Security Council voted for, and its refusal to consider technical measures to prevent surprise attack at the conference in the fall of 1958. Now those are the things which we do deplore.

Just contemplate the situation for a moment:

Here is a government, well known for its expansionist proclivities and armed to the teeth, which has repeatedly in contravention of Article 2, paragraph 4, of the Charter, which is the article which forbids both the use and the threat of force, and this government has repeatedly used force and threats of force in its relations with other sovereign states. Now that is a clear Charter violation.

When such a government insists on secrecy it is in effect also insisting on preserving its ability to make a surprise attack on humanity. If the free world failed to attempt to protect itself against such a danger, it would be inviting destruction.

If it should ever be accepted that the Soviet Union can maintain a double standard whereby they have thousands of spies and subversive agents everywhere while protesting one single harmless observation flight, the free world would surely be in great and peculiar danger.

This afternoon the Soviet representative has had something to say about international law. One may ask where the Soviet Union's concern for international law was when Communist armed forces invaded the Republic of Korea in 1950, or where that concern was when the Soviet Union forcibly and brutally snuffed out the independence of Hungary in 1956.

Illegal uses of force like these violating international law and the solemn treaty obligations of the United Nations Charter cannot fail to make the rest of the world apprehensive for its safety. And this was the background against which measures were taken to try to secure information in advance of possible further Communist assaults.

That is the heart of the matter, and we shall not get very far here if we dwell on the symptoms of the disease and neglect the disease itself—and the disease is the danger of wholesale sudden death by surprise attack.

At an appropriate future time the United States intends to make proposals to get at the heart of the matter, and we hope that our proposals will appear constructive and that discussion of them will tend to reduce world tension.

The United States remains committed to seek a solution of international problems through negotiations rather than force. We have said, and we repeat, that we are willing to negotiate at any time and in any place and in any manner which offers hope for agreement. We shall

continue to work for progress toward the goals of general and complete disarmament with effective international controls. We will continue to work toward an agreement on cessation of nuclear weapons tests. We shall continue to work toward international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space.

These are a few of the things the United States is prepared to do. We shall cooperate with other members of the council in seeking to create a better international atmosphere in which mankind will be freed from the specter of war.

THE CHALLENGE OF OUR TIMES

(Excerpts from an address by Ivan B. White, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs, at Willamette University, Salem, Oregon, June 5, 1960, as carried in The Department of State Bulletin, volume 42, pages 989-993, June 20, 1960.)

Let us look briefly at some of the things that have happened to the world during the last 20 years and which have produced the present perils in the international situation.

In the first place, the world has grown incredibly smaller. I recently flew to Europe in the same number of hours as the days required to make a similar voyage by sea a few years earlier. All over the world more rapid means of transportation and communication have revolutionized our geographic concepts and have forced the United States to be an integral part of the world community, whether or not we might otherwise have chosen to do so.

Concurrent with this geographic shrinkage has come an equally astounding growth in the economic interdependency of nations. There are few nations which have been so favorably endowed with human and material resources as the United States. Even in our country, however, our prosperity depends increasingly on foreign markets, and American business and industry have simultaneously become increasingly dependent upon foreign sources of raw materials.

A third major development in the international situation during the last twenty years has been the terrifying growth of weapons technology. All of us are familiar with this problem, and I need not dwell on it at great length. Yet it continues to stagger my imagination when I realize that a single American bombing plane can today carry more explosive power than was used by all the bombs and gunfire in the First World War, the Second World War, the Korean war, and all the other wars of human history combined. Nor is it comforting when we also realize that a nation whose rulers are hostile to our way of life possesses an abundant supply of these same weapons.

The galloping development of weapons technology has presented us with a political and moral dilemma unparalleled in history. Despite our numerous efforts at international organization, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the application of international law, military force is still the final arbiter of conflicting interests on the international scene. Under present conditions no sensible nation can afford to dispense with

its weapons any more than the frontiersman of the 19th century could afford to relinquish his revolver and his rifle. At the same time what we have now developed is a form of *absolute* force, a series of weapons systems so powerful and horrible that their use on a broad scale might result in the utter physical devastation of all antagonists in a major war and perhaps the destruction of the remainder of human civilization as well.

Shift in Power Balance

What makes our dilemma especially painful is the fact that the development of techniques of absolute destruction has in no way removed or alleviated the political, economic, and social conflicts which have so often led to war in the past. On the contrary we are currently engaged in a conflict which is fully as intense and momentous as any other in history. One of the most striking events of the past twenty years has been the shift of the world power balance—the vast growth of a Communist empire which now embraces approximately one-third of the world's population and territory. The rulers of this vast empire have expressed a fierce determination to continue the process of expansion—to bring additional peoples and territories under Communist control, until the Communist system attains overwhelming superiority in population, resources, science, industrial and economic capacity, and all the other elements of power. Their ultimate goal, which they proclaim without hesitation or apology, is a universal Communist state of which the United States would become merely a province.

The threat emanating from the Communist drive for world domination has inevitably produced a bitter and unceasing struggle for survival on the part of the United States and other free nations, a struggle that has been aptly described as the cold war. This struggle has many facets. Some people think of the cold war primarily in terms of the armaments race—the vast buildup of weapons and delivery systems by both sides. This is certainly an important and dangerous element in the struggle. At the same time we must recognize that the Communist rulers have become extraordinarily adept at applying a variety of techniques of aggression. They undoubtedly have a natural reluctance to unleash a nuclear holocaust which might well prove suicidal to themselves, but this does not mean that they are willing to abandon their efforts to secure control of foreign peoples and territories by other means. Their techniques include fomenting and aggravating civil strife, the sabotage and subversion of existing governments and social institutions, the constant search for superiority in science and technology, the continuous outpouring of clever and voluminous propaganda, and the employment of crafty economic inducements and pressures.

Side by side with the continuing cold war there have been other radical changes in the international environment. The colonial empires of the past century have largely disappeared, and the peoples of Africa and Asia are rapidly achieving independence. Simultaneously these people are demanding urgent action through an improvement of their economic and social conditions. In brief, more than half the world's people are currently in a state of political and economic revolution.

Encouraging Developments

Now at this point I would like to remind you that realism is not the same thing as pessimism. I don't want to hoist only storm warnings nor to leave the impression that the international picture is one of unrelieved gloom. If we review recent history, we find several developments from which we can take comfort and confidence.

Despite a number of international crises and despite dire threats by the rulers of the Soviet Union and Communist China, we have thus far avoided general war.

The free nations have maintained and improved their strength and unity. The United States has alliances with forty-four free nations, which in combination add substantially to the military strength of our own country. These alliances also provide a framework for growing political and economic cooperation. The economic position of many of our allies, like the United States itself, has improved greatly since the dark days following World War II. During recent years we have heard much of the rate of economic growth in the Soviet Union, but it is significant that Western Europe has surpassed the Soviet Union in this respect. All told, the actual and potential resources of the free world, both human and material, are still far superior to those of the Communist bloc.

Most important of all, I think, has been the evolution of American and allied attitudes. I believe we have learned to face facts and to meet difficult problems and constructive action.

AMBASSADOR LODGE DISCUSSES THE RB-47 PLANE CASE

(Excerpts from Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge's statement concerning the U. S. RB-47 plane incident, made to the Security Council of the United Nations on July 25, 1960.)

On July 1, 1960, an American plane of the type known as RB-47 was proceeding on a mission over the international waters of the Barents Sea.

The mission involved flying northward from England over the high seas to a point two hundred miles north of the nearest land mass. From there the plane flew east into the Barents Sea on a prescribed course which at no time was to bring it closer than fifty miles from Soviet territory.

The plane in question was on an electromagnetic observation flight. The route was over international waters at all times. The crew of the plane had every reason to enjoy safe and uncontested passage through international air space during this flight.

The only weapons the plane carried were two 20mm tail guns to protect it from attack from the rear. It carried no offensive weapons of any kind.

As the world knows, this plane disappeared.

United States personnel who monitored this flight could pin-point the precise location of this plane at 1522 Greenwich Mean Time—that is 3:22—even though the plane maintained radio silence. At that moment the plane was over international waters, as it had been throughout its flight, and was on its prescribed course approximately two hundred miles northeast of the Kola Peninsula.

The plane became the object of widespread search, in which the Soviet Government appeared at first to be participating in good faith.

Ten days later, however, the Soviet Union proclaimed to the world that it had shot down the missing plane. At the same time the Soviet Union claimed that the aircraft had penetrated Soviet airspace, and that the plane was engaged in a premeditated aggressive mission. The Soviet Government also accompanied its announcement with new threats of force and violence of a type with which the entire world has unfortunately become familiar in recent months.

This intentional delay of ten days, as Chairman Khrushchev informed us, had the cynical purpose of "confusing" us. I quote his word "confusing."

These facts are clear and incontrovertible—and the Soviet Union knows that they are.

This aircraft was equipped with the most modern and reliable systems for navigation, and the crew had had many years of experience in celestial and other forms of navigation, including electronic means.

The crew would have had no reason whatever to depart from their prescribed course, on which they could perform their duties fully. Indeed they had every reason to stay away from Soviet territory and territorial waters.

The plane was equipped with the most sensitive available radar to tell them—with the degree of accuracy only possible through electronic means—how near they were to any land mass. Their instructions required them to rely on this radar for navigation.

Further, they were instructed that before they got closer than seventy-five miles from Soviet territory, and before they started on this portion of the prescribed course, they should make a special check to assure themselves that the radar was functioning properly and accurately.

These precautions—these elaborate precautions—were taken because the crew knew, as do so many of us, that the Soviet Union had in the past lured planes towards its frontier.

This chart shows the planned course of the RB-47. Now let me show you in detail on this other map which magnifies that particular part. Here is the magnification of that part that was in the other map.

The Soviet Government has stated—indeed it has boasted—in its memorandum to the council that the RB-47 entered Soviet territorial waters on July 1, twenty-two kilometers (12 miles) north of Cape Svyatoy Nos, indicated by the red star on this chart—that is the Soviet claim—and that the plane proceeded in the direction of Archangel and was shot down by a Soviet fighter over Soviet territorial waters to the east of Syvatoy Nos at 1503 GMT, that is 3 minutes past 3 GMT. That is the Soviet claim. So as to avoid confusion, I point out that there are two places called Svyatoy Nos—one is on the Kola Peninsula, the other about two hundred miles east, beyond Kanin Peninsula. When I use the term I refer to Svyatoy Nos in the Kola Peninsula.

But the truth is that at 1503 hours GMT on July 1, 1960, the RB-47 was over international waters—fifty miles northeast of Svyatoy Nos, not in territorial waters east of that cape, as alleged by the Soviet Government.

The Soviet allegation that the plane violated the Soviet national frontier at a point twenty-two kilometers (twelve miles) north of Svyatoy Nos (at the red star), "was moving in the direction of the city of Archangel," and was shot down in Soviet territorial waters east of Svyatoy Nos, is a complete fabrication and must be dismissed as a poor attempt to cloak a wanton attack on a plane which was over international waters.

DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE TERMINATED BY SOVIETS

(Excerpts from the U. S. note of July 2, 1960, to the Soviet Government concerning the termination of the Ten-Nation Conference on Disarmament at Geneva by the Soviet walkout on June 27, 1960, as carried in The Department of State Bulletin, volume 43, pages 88-89, July 18, 1960.)

The United States Government was profoundly disappointed when the Soviet Government refused to participate in the meeting of the heads of state and heads of government in Paris last month. The hopes of the world that the government leaders assembled there would be able to take constructive steps toward settlement of their differences and toward the strengthening of the peace were dashed by the arbitrary action of the Soviet Government.

The Government of the United States, nevertheless, retained the hope that the Soviet Government might be willing to continue the search for meaningful agreements in the negotiations already in progress in the areas of disarmament and nuclear testing. When the Soviet delegation tabled its disarmament proposals on June 7, the United States Government undertook to give them the most thoughtful and serious consideration. In view of the complex character of arms limitation and the long history of disarmament negotiations, it was obvious that the process of negotiating agreements would of necessity be long and arduous and would require serious effort, great patience and abundant forbearance. The Soviet allegation that the disarmament negotiations were proving fruitless and had reached a state of deadlock, only three weeks after the revised Soviet proposals had been tabled, cannot but give rise to question as to the Soviet Government's true motivation in torpedoing the conference.

The withdrawal of the Soviet delegation stands in sharp contrast to the repeated Soviet official declarations of intent to settle by peaceful means through negotiation all outstanding international issues, among which, it would have been expected, would be the question of disarmament, acknowledged by the Soviet Government to be the most important question facing the world today.

The decision of the Soviet Government to break off the disarmament negotiations was particularly surprising and regrettable because it occurred at the very time the western delegations were preparing to submit new disarmament proposals. The Soviet Government was aware that the United States had undertaken a review of its position on disarmament in the hope of finding helpful and practical revisions which would further the work of the Ten-Nation Committee. This review was

announced by the United States Secretary of State on June 24 and, indeed, was acknowledged in *Pravda* the following day. Moreover, the Head of the United States Disarmament Delegation informed his Soviet counterpart prior to the meeting at Geneva on June 27, at which the Soviet delegation broke off negotiations, that new proposals were being worked out for early submission.

The abrupt termination of these negotiations is additionally disturbing in the light of the adoption by the Security Council of the UN on May 27 of the resolution submitted by Ceylon, Tunisia, Argentina and Ecuador, which specifically "requests the governments concerned to continue their efforts to achieve a constructive solution of the question of general and complete disarmament under effective international control in accordance with Resolution 1378 (XIV) of the General Assembly and the discontinuance of all nuclear weapons tests under an appropriate international control system as well as their negotiations on measures to prevent surprise attack, including technical measures, as recommended by the General Assembly."

The goal of disarmament is an aspiration common to all mankind and an objective which all governments must relentlessly strive to achieve. For its part, the United States Government remains determined to spare no effort to arrive at mutually acceptable agreements on concrete measures, the implementation of which would represent a solid advance toward the goal of complete and general disarmament under reliable and effective international control.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE WORLD COMMUNITY

(Excerpts from an address by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter at the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 8, 1960.)

We now live, together with all peoples, in a relatively small world, the dimensions of which are further rapidly shrinking. This fact has already completely revolutionized the relations between man and man, between different societies, nations and continents. Our world is a neighborhood. Science has wrought wonders which tend to create the physical, the technical basis for a world community. The material foundation of such a community lies ready to our hands; it exists in rudimentary form.

We are, all of us, confronted today by new and challenging frontiers, not between men and nations but frontiers surrounding us all, as individuals, beckoning us on to new endeavors and concerted efforts. You of the community of learning bear a special responsibility, that our common cultural heritage be preserved and made pertinent and applicable to the great tasks that challenge us on many fronts. For we are truly engaged in a contest of which the stakes and the outcome are the fate of our culture and our civilization.

Let us be clear in our minds about what has been happening. Many of us here can recall the days when most of the world seemed far away from us, rather unreal in fact. Our people, in town and country, were preoccupied with local and personal—or at the most, national—affairs. Europe and Asia were far away. So was Latin America. Africa was a

great unknown. Newspapers recorded little of world events, usually only at a time of disaster or war.

Now these times are gone beyond recall. We would not call them back if we could. We live in a new and utterly different kind of world.

It is a startling thought that it now has become possible, for the first time in history, for all peoples of the world to live together. The so-called backward peoples can now begin to enjoy the benefits of our modern civilization. The techniques are available whereby all members of the human race can be well fed and clothed and housed. We seem on the verge of conquest of the abysmal poverty and disease and misery that have long been the lot of most of mankind. The basic and central reality is the essentially political fact, that all nations now *must* live together and that a community of interests must come into existence.

Open and Closed Societies

This poses one of the great issues of our times, the conflict between the concepts of open, and closed societies. In America we have aspired to an open society, and have sought increasingly to realize it in our world relationships. In such a society there is an absence of needless and artificial barriers, and a cross-fertilization and free competition of ideas. This is a fundamental aspect of our tradition and heritage, of our national style. In general this concept is shared and exemplified in the other countries of the free world, where there is freedom of communication, of expression, of travel, and of initiative.

The other concept, that of a closed society, still prevails in many parts of the world, even though it is gradually being modified by the influx and pressure of modern forces and ideas. In such societies men must live largely separate and secluded from their fellow men elsewhere, bound by tradition and often superstitution, subservient to governments and institutions over which they have little control. Their thoughts are patterned after the concepts and ideologies imposed upon them from above.

It will be difficult to resolve the central political problem of our times so long as closed societies of repressed and unfree peoples exist. This is particularly true when all peoples are being pulled more and more into the course of world history. Hermit nations are an anachronism. There is no room for unfree nations, whether subjected to the tyranny of human despots, or to the tyranny of false and outworn systems and ideas. Our world can never become a true community so long as a part of its peoples remain shut off from the main currents of history.

One reason why a closed society is a danger to our world community is that it harbors secrecy; it cherishes estrangement from and hostility toward the outside world. In states so dominated concealment becomes a fetish. Such states instil fears of other nations in their peoples. Excessive secrecy is regarded as a great military asset, the equivalent of so many divisions or missiles.

I believe it is this same fetish of secrecy that obstructs progress toward arms control. The Soviets profess to want disarmament, but their obsession with secrecy has made them unwilling to accept the type of inspection arrangements which are absolutely indispensable to any safe and acceptable system of controlled disarmament.

It is even more true now than when it was stated by President Eisenhower before the United Nations General Assembly in 1958, that "the nature of today's weapons, the nature of modern communications, and the widening circle of new nations make it plain that we must, in the end, be a world community of open societies. . . . The concept of the open society is the ultimate key to a system of arms control we all can trust."

PERSPECTIVE ON PARIS

(An editorial in The New York Times for May 18, 1960.)

The dramatic events and harsh words in Paris have aroused understandable tension and anxiety among people the world over. It would be foolish to try to predict where the road Mr. Khrushchev chose to follow will lead. Better and wiser, it would seem, is an effort to gain perspective by standing back from the immediate scene in Paris and taking another look at the fundamentals which provide the backdrop for the drama now being played.

Chief among these fundamentals is the simple fact that modern weapons of mass destruction have made war insane as a means of settling disputes among the great powers. Whether one thinks of Moscow or New York, of Leningrad or Chicago, it requires no more than one hydrogen bomb landing approximately on target to wipe out millions of people and to destroy the laboriously built heritage accumulated over the generations. Beyond that, the radioactivity put into the atmosphere by any large number of nuclear explosions would threaten the future of all humanity in all lands. On the need to avoid such a catastrophe there can be no difference among sane people.

A second fundamental is that there exists today an essential stalemate of military power between the United States and the Soviet Union because each is capable of inflicting unacceptable damage upon the other. We may assume that Mr. Khrushchev has intercontinental ballistic missiles capable of delivering hydrogen bombs on us. But if the U-2 incident proved nothing else, it proved that high-flying American planes can penetrate the Soviet Union with similar loads of death and destruction. If there are any madmen in Moscow eager to press the rocket-launching buttons, their ardor should have been cooled by realization of the implications of the fact that Captain Powers' plane was not downed until it reached Sverdlovsk.

Finally, there is the simple fact that for all his angry words Mr. Khrushchev knows that when it comes to espionage, aggression, and the like, his own country and he personally come into the court of world public opinion with dirty hands indeed. It is not yet four years since Soviet troops murdered Hungarian patriots in the streets of Budapest. On espionage, the latest Swiss expulsion of two Soviet diplomats caught redhanded trying to obtain secret information is only the latest incident in a long history of Soviet spying in many lands. To the extent that the Premier's current performance in Paris is a battle in the unending propaganda war, he must realize that there are limits beyond which his

indictment of the United States for the U-2 incident cannot be carried, if only because the people of the free world know full well the magnitude and frightening success of Soviet spy activity.

There are no guarantees of peace and security when the world has so irresponsibly been brought to the brink. But these considerations do remind us that Mr. Khrushchev has good reason to avoid toppling all humanity over that brink, and we may hope that reason will yet prevail despite the unreason of the past two days.

THE CUBAN DEBATE

(An editorial in The New York Times for July 20, 1960.)

The dramatic debate in the Security Council on the Cuban complaint against the United States has to be recognized as a skirmish in a hard-fought battle. The ferocity of the Russian delegate's attack on the United States and the strong reply from Ambassador Lodge were evidence of the extent to which Cuba is being used as a pawn in the cold war. It is the normal fate of pawns to be sacrificed.

This is hardly what Fidel Castro dreamed of in his long months of struggle in the Sierra Maestro against the dictatorship of General Batista. He has been drawn, by an almost compulsive series of actions and reaction, into a position of absolute dependence on the Soviet bloc. Without oil and without the possibility of exporting the sugar remaining from this year's crop, Cuba's economy would utterly collapse. The Castro government is struggling for its existence, and one need not doubt the sincerity of the belief in Havana that the United States is out to destroy the revolutionary regime.

The longer this struggle lasts the worse this is going to be for every country concerned—for Cuba, for the United States and for every Latin American nation, because the Cuban revolution is having a profound effect everywhere in the hemisphere. In warfare of any kind there is unconditional surrender or else a line of retreat is left open. With an opponent as formidable as Premier Castro one must expect a fight to the end if the demand is for unconditional surrender. In that case the Cuban people are going to suffer terribly and every government in Latin America is going to be subjected to great stresses and strains internally.

The problem, therefore, is how or where to find a settlement. In present circumstances one sees none. On our side there have been great provocations and it was hardly possible to come to terms with Premier Castro when he was confiscating American property without compensation and stirring up anti-Yankee sentiments throughout the hemisphere in which the Communists have been given a damaging and frightening role. Still less has accommodation been possible since Dr. Castro's policies led him to turn to the Soviet bloc to counteract American pressures he feared or resented.

Yet it does seem as if there must be some way out of this dilemma with its fixed, inflexible postures on both sides. President Eisenhower has expressed sympathy with the social, economic and political aspirations of the Cuban revolution. On the Cuban side it is almost univers-

ally agreed that Premier Castro is not himself a Communist. It is also a fact that he is the master of Cuba today. Latin American leaders have made it clear that they likewise sympathize with the aspirations of the Cuban social revolution while they, like us, condemn the attempt of the Soviet Union to intervene.

Now that the issue is going from the Security Council to the Organization of American States these various factors could be utilized as bases from which a solution might ultimately be found. Foreign Minister Roa of Cuba said in the Security Council on Monday that Cuba desires "to reduce by normal, diplomatic channels and on a basis of equality in the light of the international obligations undertaken by both countries, its differences with the United States." The time has come to begin.

"ONLY BY STRENGTH CAN WE WIN"

(Excerpts from an address by W. Randolph Burgess, U. S. Permanent Representative to the North Atlantic Council, before the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Washington, D. C., June 15, 1960.)

We face a long contest between two different ways of life based on fundamentally different moral principles.

Under present conditions we should, as the President said in his report to the American people, approach negotiations with the Kremlin leaders as "a careful search for common interests between the western allies and the Soviet Union on specific problems."

We can make progress toward reducing the burden of armaments by specific arrangements nailed down by inspection and control.

If peace is maintained by a military deadlock, then the scene of the contest will shift to prolonged economic competition and to increased efforts in the battle to capture men's minds, which for our part might more appropriately be called the battle to *free* men's minds.

The Soviet principle is based on the belief that an unavoidable conflict exists between the classes which they think in the end must result in victory for communism by all feasible means, including, if necessary and practical, the use of armed force. They will use every mechanism to stir up that conflict. They are today actively engaged in doing so in many parts of the world. They are sure that success will come to them inevitably. Again I want to remind you of their belief that history is on their side.

But we believe that history shows it is on *our* side, because we think man is made for freedom and truth, and in the long run will win his way through to them. But there is nothing automatic about this. Progress will reflect the leadership of individuals and nations, and especially the great free nations with their heritage of culture and freedom. The future path of history may well depend on us—our efforts, our sacrifices, our understanding.

We are not alone in this responsibility. We share it with other countries of the free world and particularly with the NATO member countries. The challenge of communism is *not* a challenge of the Soviet Union to the United States alone. It is, as NATO Secretary General Paul-Henri Spaak has said, "the challenge of the *whole* Communist world to the

whole free world, and the countries of the free world must accept the challenge collectively in all fields and everywhere."

Let us make a few practical comments. One is that to keep the military balance of power we shall have to continue military spending at about the present level. We cannot let up.

We must also continue to help the nations which are our allies and our friends to keep up their military and economic power. Our defense dollar brings us greater return this way than in almost any other.

To do these things effectively, we shall have to keep on paying taxes at approximately present rates. No relief is in sight.

To buttress our economic strength, we shall have to follow sound monetary and fiscal policies to keep the U. S. dollar strong—a firm base for the economic growth and stability of the western world.

To summarize, the recent events serve notice on this country and our allies that we face a long period of testing. The key thought for us must be to maintain our strength—military, economic, and moral. Only by strength can we ultimately win this contest, and every national policy should be judged by its contribution to that strength.

PEACEFUL CHANGE

(Excerpts from an address by Secretary of State Christian A. Herter before the General Assembly of the United Nations, September 17, 1959, as carried in The Department of State Bulletin, volume 41, pages 467-475, October 5, 1959.)

This, my first appearance before the General Assembly, gives me a welcome opportunity to express my strong belief and firm faith in the United Nations.

There is a special personal satisfaction to me in being here for this purpose today. A little over forty years ago I served on the staff of a distinguished American President, Woodrow Wilson, when he went to France to negotiate what we then hoped would be an enduring peace. President Wilson held strong convictions concerning the need for an effective international organization to provide means for nations of the world to work together to solve their common problems.

Twenty years ago this month the structure of peace that he had helped to build collapsed in war.

In the backwash of World War II, however, man continued his quest for peace through international organization. The states subscribing to the United Nations Charter at San Francisco in 1945 sought to build a new and more effective instrument for this purpose.

This meeting is one more step in our continuing effort to strengthen that organization and to fulfill its goals.

If all of us devote ourselves faithfully to this task, and thus carry out the obligations of the Charter, I believe that we can achieve the peaceful world which people everywhere earnestly desire.

To do this, we must deal with a major problem that the League of Nations did not master and that the United Nations has not yet been able fully to resolve: that of preventing change through the use of aggressive force, while devising processes to accomplish needed and constructive change through peaceful means.

The United States accepts the principle of change. Our history, as evidenced by the recent admission of Alaska and Hawaii to the Union, proves the capacity of our system of government to meet and adjust to change.

But the way in which change comes about is of overriding importance in the nuclear age. Attempts to change the international situation through force could destroy us all. Total nuclear war has now become, quite literally, a suicidal enterprise. Peaceful progress, on the other hand, could open up new vistas for all mankind.

CONGO RESOLUTION OF THE U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL

(Text of the Congo resolution which the United Nations Security Council adopted on July 14, 1960, as carried in The Department of State Bulletin, volume 43, page 161, August 1, 1960.)

The Security Council,

Considering the report of the Secretary-General on a request for United Nations action in relation to the Republic of Congo,

Considering the request for military assistance addressed to the Secretary-General by the President and the Prime minister of the Republic of the Congo (document S/4382),

1. *Calls upon* the Government of Belgium to withdraw their troops from the territory of the Republic of the Congo;

2. *Decides* to authorize the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance, as may be necessary, until, through the efforts of the Congolese Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks;

3. *Requests* the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council as appropriate.

REFERENCES

For material concerning the United Nations, the principal or teacher in charge should write the Department of Public Information of the United Nations, United Nations, N. Y.

The United States Mission to the United Nations will no doubt be able to furnish some material of value to those who are making a study of the Program topic. The principal or teacher in charge should write for available material to the U. S. Mission to the United Nations, 2 Park Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

The Department of State will no doubt be able to furnish some material of value to those who are making a study of the topic for the year. The principal or teacher in charge should write for available material to the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

The September, 1954, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The Role of the United Nations in the Building of World Peace." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1954-55, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension D ivision, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The November, 1955, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The Future of the United Nations in Helping to Build World Peace." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1955-56, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The September, 1956, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The United Nations—Its Problems and Opportunities." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1956-57, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The October, 1957, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The United Nations in the Search for World Peace." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1957-58, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The September, 1958, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The Role of the United Nations in the Modern World." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1958-59, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The August, 1959, number of the University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin deals with the subject: "The United Nations in the Space Age." The price of this publication, which was used as the handbook for the Program of 1959-60, is 50 cents a copy. Address the University Extension Division, Chapel Hill, N. C.

U. S. Senators and Representatives in Congress may be able to furnish from Congressional sources some material bearing on the subject for the year.

FILMS ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS

The Bureau of Visual Education of the University of North Carolina Extension Division will be able to supply a number of films dealing with the United Nations or related topics to schools, clubs, or other organizations. For rental rates, address the Bureau of Visual Education, Abernethy Hall, Chapel Hill, N. C. A partial list of the films is given below:

"The Middle East (Israel)," running time 10 minutes.

"Factories, Mines and Waterways (Western Europe)," running time 20 minutes.

"Assignment Children" (Danny Kaye's World Tour for UNICEF), running time 20 minutes, color.

"Brotherhood of Man," running time 10 minutes, color.

"Japan, Island Nation," running time 20 minutes.

"Defense of the Peace, UN," running time 10 minutes.

"World Without End," running time 39 minutes.

"Workshop for Peace," running time 28 minutes.

"Middle East," running time 14 minutes.

"Out" (Hungarian Refugees), running time 20 minutes.

"Three, Two, One, Zero," running time 27 minutes.

"Eight Steps to Peace Series," a series of eight films, each with running time of 13½ minutes, dealing with "Membership in the UN," "You and the UN," "A Permanent UN Police Force," "Charter Review," "What's in It for Everyone?," "Does Disarmament Make Sense?," and other subjects.

WORLD AFFAIRS INFORMATION CENTER

The University of North Carolina Extension Division operates a World Affairs Information Center. The services of the Center at Chapel Hill include: the distribution of State Department and United Nations literature about the Organization and its specialized agencies (i.e., UNESCO, FAO, WHO, etc.); the rental of films, film strips, and other audio-visual education materials; and other activities.

The Information Center, in cooperation with the University of North Carolina Library, assists North Carolina public and school libraries in providing local World Affairs information services. In addition to the distribution of State Department and United Nations informational materials to the libraries, lists of other publications related to international affairs are provided and, if possible, furnished by the Center.

Requests for information should be addressed to the World Affairs Information Center, University Extension Division, Box 1050, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS OF THE BUREAU OF CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION

1961-1962

Table of Contents

Page

EXTENSION BULLETINS ..... Inside Front Cover

GENERAL INFORMATION CONCERNING CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTION 5

CREDIT 5

RULES GOVERNING CORRESPONDENCE COURSES 7

STANDARDS 7

THE HONOR SYSTEM 8

FOR CREDIT AT OTHER COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES 8

FOR TEACHERS IN OTHER STATES 8

FOR NORTH CAROLINA TEACHERS 8

FEES 9
- Residents of North Carolina 9
- Non-residents of North Carolina 9

REFUNDS 9

BOOKS AND SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL 9

THE UNITED STATES ARMED FORCES INSTITUTE 10

ADULT EDUCATION 10

HOW TO SELECT AND REGISTER FOR CORRESPONDENCE WORK 11

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION 13

- *Art* 13
  - History and Appreciation of Ancient and Medieval Art 13
  - History and Interpretation of Painting 13
- *Business Administration* 13
  - Accounting Principles I 13
  - Business Law 13
  - Business English 13
- *Comparative Literature* 13
  - Modern Continental Drama 13
- *Dentistry* 14
  - The Dental Assistant 14
- *Dramatic Art* 14
  - Playwriting 14
  - Modern Continental Drama 14
- *Education* 14
  - The Introduction to the Study of Education 14
  - Educational Psychology 14
  - Survey and Evaluation of Books and Related Materials for Children 15
  - The Teacher and Organization for Effective Teaching 15
  - The Secondary School 15
  - Elements of Statistical Methods in Education 15

Page

Social and Educational History of the United States 15
Community Education 15
The Language Arts in the Elementary School 16
Reading and Study Habits for the Elementary Grades 16
The Teaching of Science in the Elementary Grades 16
The Teaching of Arithmetic in the Elementary School 16
Curriculum Construction 16
Growth and Development of the School Child 16

English 17
English Composition 17
English Composition and Rhetoric 17
English Literature (Sophomore Course) 17
Business English 17
Introduction to the Short Story 17
Creative Writing: An Analysis of Fiction 18
Creative Writing: The Short Story 18
English Grammar 18
The English Novel 18
Shakespeare 18
English Literature, 1780-1830 18
American Literature 18

Geology and Geography 19
Introduction to General Geology 19
Introduction to Geography 19
Geography of North America 19

Germanic Languages 20
German
Elementary German 20
Intermediate German 20
German Literature 20
Scientific German 21
Russian
Elementary Russian 21

History 21
Modern Civilization 21
American History 21-22
Ancient History 22
Medieval History 22
English History 22
American Diplomatic History 22
North Carolina History 22
Social and Educational History of the United States (See Education) 22

Latin 23
Intermediate Latin 23
Latin Composition 23
Selections from Latin Prose 23
Latin Poetry 23

Mathematics 23
Plane Geometry 23
College Algebra 23

Plane Trigonometry 23
Mathematics of Finance 24
Spherical Trigonometry 24
Analytic Geometry 24
Differential Calculus 24
Integral Calculus 24

Music 24
Fundamentals of Music 24
Harmony 24
History of Music 25

Philosophy 25
Introductory Logic 25

Physical Education 25
Personal Hygiene 25

Political Science 25
Citizenship 25
The Government of the United States 25
State Government in the United States 25

Psychology 26
General Psychology 26

Religion 26
The Origin and Significance of the Bible 26

Romance Languages 26
Spanish Composition 26
Spanish Literature 26

Sociology and Anthropology 26
Introduction to Sociology 26
Social Problems 27
Marriage 27
The Negro 27
Community Recreation 27
Program Planning for Community Recreation 27
Criminology 27
Rural Sociology 27
General Anthropology 28

THE GENERAL COLLEGE REQUIREMENTS 29

SOPHOMORE ELECTIVES 29

NORTH CAROLINA CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS 30
For High School Teachers' Certificates 31
For Gramar Grade or Primary Certificates 34

N.C. STATE COLLEGE COURSES 35

ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF 39

CORRESPONDENCE INSTRUCTORS 40

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES 42

LIBRARY STUDY OUTLINES ..... Inside back cover

Correspondence Instruction

This catalogue explains in detail the correspondence work offered at Chapel Hill by the Extension Division of the University of North Carolina. The courses offered at North Carolina State College in Raleigh are listed on pages 35-37. Full information regarding them may be secured by writing to that institution.

The courses listed herein may be pursued by anyone who is prepared to study them with profit. Those who expect to secure credit towards a degree must, of course, satisfy the entrance and other requirements. However, those who do not desire or expect such credit are permitted to register for any course in which they have an interest. Non-credit students are given the same careful instruction as those who study for credit.

Each correspondence course has been prepared by a member of the faculty so that it parallels the equivalent course given in residence and covers an equal amount of work for which equal credit is given. Although it may vary, a correspondence course which gives two semester hours' credit usually has sixteen assignments and one which gives three semester hours' credit has twenty-five assignments.

General Information

Correspondence study is a method of learning through the directed study of textbooks and supplementary material, writing the answers to the questions, and developing lines of thought contained in each assignment. Each assignment includes: (a) full directions for study, including references to textbooks; (b) suggestions and lecture material; (c) questions to be answered in writing. When a student registers for a course, he is provided a set of assignments. He does the work outlined in the first assignment and sends his paper to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction and then begins work on the second assignment. At the University each paper is examined by an instructor, who carefully corrects and grades it and places on it constructive criticism and helpful suggestions for study. During University vacation periods, students may expect some delay in the return of reports. While it is very desirable that the student send in work regularly, at least one assignment each week, he has the privilege of sending it in as he is able to complete it, *provided he does not submit more than four assignments in each course within a seven-day period.* Each assignment covers approximately two days of residence work. An assignment is expected to require approximately six hours for preparation.

Credit

Unless otherwise noted, all courses offered give credit toward bachelors' degrees at this institution. *No courses are offered for graduate credit.*

To work out a systematic plan for taking correspondence instruction toward the A.B. degree, study carefully the *Requirements for Bachelors' Degrees* found on pages 29-30.

The State Department of Public Instruction at Raleigh will, in accordance with its regulations, credit all courses listed in this catalogue (except those listed as non-credit courses) toward state teachers' certificates. See pages 30-34 regarding amount of credit allowed and distribution.

For credit toward a degree at this branch of the University, not more than the equivalent of one year of residence work, 30 semester hours, may be earned by extension classes and correspondence courses. One-half of the total amount, 15 semester hours, is the maximum correspondence work that may be completed in any twelve-month period. The last year's work must be taken in residence. A maximum of two courses may be taken by correspondence from this University during the last year.

If degree credit is desired at this branch of the University an applicant for correspondence work must meet the University entrance requirements of at least fifteen acceptable units from an accredited high school. The high school record must be transferred to the University on a blank that will be furnished for the purpose. Credit for work taken at other colleges must be properly transferred to the University and accepted by the examining committee.

A general requirement for admission of women applicants at the University at Chapel Hill is satisfactory completion of at least two years of acceptable college work in another accredited college or university. (Of the two years' requirement, one year's work may be completed by correspondence.) This requirement does not affect the eligibility of a woman who is living in her permanent and *bona fide* home with her parents or her husband in Chapel Hill Township. or of a woman applying for admission to one of the following schools or programs: Dental Hygiene, Medical Technology, Nursing, Pharmacy, or Physical Therapy.

Rules Governing Correspondence Courses

1. Not more than two courses may be taken at any one time.

2. Students may enroll in a course at any time during the year.

3. Courses must be completed within thirteen months from the original date of registration or a renewal fee will be required.

4. Students may not enroll while attending a high school, college or university, without securing the written approval of their dean or academic advisor.

5. Students who are not *bona fide* residents of Chapel Hill and are not currently attending the University must secure the written approval of University authorities to remain in the vicinity of Chapel Hill while enrolled in a correspondence course.

6. It is desirable that students send in at least one assignment a week. Only four assignments are accepted in a course in a seven day period. These should be submitted one at a time. They will be returned to the student for study purposes as soon as they are corrected. All written assignments and reports must be returned to the Bureau before a final grade or credit will be given.

7. Students taking courses for credit must pass a final examination taken no later than one month after all assignments have been corrected. Examinations must be taken at a standard college or university which is accessible to the student. Exceptions to this rule are given due consideration when the situation merits it.

8. All assignments and the examination should be completed two weeks prior to the date credit is desired.

9. A subject for which credit has already been given cannot be taken for credit by correspondence unless approval has been obtained from the institution where credit is desired.

10. Thirty semester hours (equivalent to one year of residence work) may be taken by correspondence and extension classes toward a degree at the University in Chapel Hill. One-half of this amount (fifteen semester hours) is the maximum correspondence work allowed to be completed in any twelve month period.

11. If a student, with the exception of one or two courses, has fulfilled the University requirement of taking the full work of the last academic year in residence, he may complete this work by taking correspondence courses from this University provided permission is secured from his dean, and suitable courses are offered.

12. The use of lightweight paper for assignments is recommended in order to save postage. Paper suitable for typewriter or pen, if not available locally, may be purchased from the Bureau.

Standards

The Bureau emphasizes the importance of the individual guidance of students by instructors. This involves the evaluation of students' work and the giving of helpful suggestions according to individual needs.

All students will be expected to submit their assignments in good form, grammatical and otherwise, acceptable to the instructor and in line

with the requirements of the University. If an instructor in any department finds that the English composition of a student is below the standard, the symbol cc (composition condition) may accompany the final grade, as for instance Bcc, Ccc, or Dcc. This will indicate that, although the instructor has accepted as satisfactory the student's knowledge of the subject matter of the course, the penmanship, punctuation, spelling, vocabulary, or organization of the written work is not up to the University standard. A student receiving such a grade may remove the condition by completing successfully the correspondence course English c0.

The Honor System

Correspondence courses, like residence courses, are on the honor basis. The student body of the University has through a century of tradition developed an honor spirit and an honor system. A student who plagiarizes, copies, cheats, or in any way does dishonest work is not only denied credit for the course but is also dismissed from the University by his fellow students. Work must be honest above all other qualities. Each correspondence student is on his honor to do only honest work.

To make certain that there is no semblance of dishonor it should be an unfailing habit *never* to refer to the textbook or any other materials or aids when writing answers to questions, unless specifically advised to do so.

No credit will be given for a course in case the student has been false to the pledge of honor. No refund will be made in such a case.

For Credit at Other Colleges and Universities

Credits earned will be transferred to another institution when this request is made by the student.

The University cannot determine the policy of other institutions in regard to accepting credit for correspondence work. There are very few standard colleges or universities at this time, however, that do not accept credit for work completed through correspondence instruction in other standard colleges or universities. There is usually interchange of credits between the various institutions which are members of the National University Extension Association. Persons should confer with the officials of the institution where credit is desired before enrolling.

For Teachers in Other States

The Extension Division will transfer credit to State Departments of Education to be applied toward teachers' certificates when requested to do so.

For North Carolina Teachers

The State Department in North Carolina has requested that credit be transferred at only two stated times during the year—June 1st and September 1st. Unless the work is completed before September 1st, credit

will not be allowed by the State Department of Public Instruction until the June next succeeding.

Fees

For residents of North Carolina:
($10.00 per semester hour)

2 semester hour course	$20.00
3 semester hour course	$30.00
4 semester hour course	$40.00

For non-residents of North Carolina:
($15.00 per semester hour)

2 semester hour course	$30.00
3 semester hour course	$45.00
4 semester hour course	$60.00
Renewal fee (extends course six months beyond the usual thirteen months' time allowed for completion)	$3.00

Under certain circumstances, the Vocational Rehabilitation Division of the State Department of Public Instruction will pay the fees for those who have a physical disability. Full information will be furnished those who write the Director, Raleigh, North Carolina.

There is no VA contract for correspondence courses offered from Chapel Hill. N. C. State College has a VA agreement. See pages 35-37.

See information concerning servicemen, page 10.

Refunds

No course fee or part of such can be refunded after an assignment has been submitted.

Partial refunds will be granted provided the request is made within the first three months of the original enrollment date, and no assignments have been submitted.

Persons must have a legitimate reason for discontinuing a course when requesting a refund.

Books and Supplementary Material

A bookstore is maintained in the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction to furnish required texts. Ask for a book list if you do not have one.

Books for *supplementary* reading should be requested from the local public or county library. If the local library cannot supply these books, they may be obtained by having the local librarian request them through the Interlibrary Center at the Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. Students who live in towns or counties without library service may obtain books by writing directly to the Center. Individuals are charged a fee of 50c for each package plus the cost of postage.

If possible, indicate second and third choice of books.

Books are lent for a period of four weeks, including transportation time. Upon request, this material may be renewed for another week.

If books are damaged and not returned in good condition, the students to whom they have been lent will be billed for the cost of books plus a fee for processing, and credit for courses will be withheld until the bill is paid.

The United States Armed Forces Institute

The University of North Carolina is one of a number of colleges and universities selected by the United States Government to offer correspondence courses to those in service, the Government paying part of the expense. Military personnel of the United States Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marine Corps, whose applications have been approved are eligible to enroll through the United States Armed Forces Institute. The following subjects are included in the University's approved courses: Art, Business Administration, Education, English, Geography, German, History, Latin, Mathematics, Music, Philosophy, Physical Education, Political Science, Psychology, Religion, Russian, Sociology, and Spanish. A leaflet giving full information is available and will be sent upon request. The Government will pay the tuition, while the person in service pays for the books and a registration fee of $4.00.

Those desiring to enroll under this plan should send to the Director of the Armed Forces Institute, Madison 3, Wisconsin (1) one of the application blanks in the back of the catalogue with (2) a United States Armed Forces Institute application form secured from an Education Office and (3) a money order, cashier's check or certified check made out to the University Extension Division for the student's share of the cost. If the Armed Forces Institute application forms cannot be secured from a post, camp or station commander, they may be obtained from the Institute Headquarters, Madison 3, Wisconsin.

Adult Education

Special arrangements will be made with instructors to meet the requirements of adult students who, for various reasons, desire to continue studying. Any mature person or group of persons, regardless of previous education, may register for any of the subjects listed in this bulletin, and the instructor will endeavor to adjust the course to the individual needs and interests. Courses in Philosophy, Psychology, Education, Religion and Sociology are especially recommended for homemakers, social workers, parents and teachers. Literary and civic club members will find courses in History, English, Political Science, foreign language, Art and Music valuable. For those in business there are courses in Business English, Business Law, Mathematics, etc.

How to Select and Register for Correspondence Work

Read carefully all the preceding pages. Look through the list of courses and select one or two which you need or in which you are most interested. Additional information regarding courses suitable for those who wish credit at the University of North Carolina and those who wish credit toward teacher certification in North Carolina will be found in the back of the catalogue. Confer with officials of the institution where credit is desired regarding the selection of your work, if necessary. Fill out the application blank in the center of this bulletin. Detach and mail it with a check or money order to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction, Chapel Hill, N. C. The check or money order should be made payable to the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction.

Before writing to the Bureau be sure to fill out *every line* of the application blank. If you are a school teacher, be certain to give exact information concerning your teacher's certificate: i.e., *kind* (whether elementary, primary, grammar grade, or high school); *class* (whether A, B, or C); and *number*.

Textbooks will not be sent unless requested on the application blank. Those wishing to purchase texts should send an amount sufficient to cover their cost or request that they be sent C.O.D.

Courses of Instruction

NOTE: The numbers are the same as in the University catalogue.

DEPARTMENT OF ART

c33. HISTORY AND INTERPRETATION OF PAINTING. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Dr. Sommer, or Assistant.

An introduction to the history and interpretation of art, tracing the development of painting in Western Civilization through the Renaissance.

c41. THE HISTORY AND APPRECIATION OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL ART. — Credit, 2 semester hrs. *16 assignments.*
Mrs. Keeler.

A survey of the architecture, sculpture, and painting from the beginnings of art through the Gothic period.

SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

c71. ACCOUNTING PRINCIPLES I. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Professor Langenderfer.

Fundamental Accounting Principles applied to the recording of business activities and to the reporting of the financial results for single proprietorships, partnerships, and corporations.

c91. BUSINESS LAW. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Professor Hobbs.
Prerequisites, Economics 31-32 if taken for credit.

The purpose of this course is to give the student an understanding of the main principles of law which govern the daily conduct of business. Contracts and agency are given special attention.

c194. BUSINESS LAW. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Professor Hobbs.
Prerequisite, Business Administration c91 or equivalent.

The law of negotiable instruments and the legal principles governing sales including conditional sales and other security transactions are covered. Corporations, partnerships, suretyships and mortgages are also considered.

Allied Subjects

c32. BUSINESS ENGLISH.
(See description of this course listed under Department of English.)

DEPARTMENT OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

c162. MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA.
(See description of this course listed under Department of Dramatic Art.)

SCHOOL OF DENTISTRY

cn1. THE DENTAL ASSISTANT. Non-credit.
Professor Brauer and Faculty. *27 assignments.*
Fee, $60.00.

This course is designed for the person who already is a Dental Assistant, or who desires to become a Dental Assistant. It is patterned from the recommended curriculum of the American Dental Assistants' Association and has been accepted by that Association as meeting one of the requirements for taking the examination of the American Dental Assistants' Association.

DEPARTMENT OF DRAMATIC ART

c155. PLAYWRITING. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Patterson. *25 assignments.*
Professor Parker.

A practical course in the writing of the stage play. A study of the principles of dramatic construction based on consideration of the sources of dramatic literature. Requirements include the writing of a short play based on a scenario or story from a selected group, and the writing of an original one-act play (or a portion of a full-length play corresponding in length, accompanied by a scenario of the entire work). Both plays will be written under the guidance of the instructor, with criticisms and suggestions from inception to final form.

c162. MODERN CONTINENTAL DRAMA Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Graves. *25 assignments.*

A study of representative plays of the modern period from Ibsen to Giraudoux.

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

(The area of the subject is indicated in accordance with the State Department of Public Instruction of N.C. See page 31.)

c41. (The School)
THE INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF EDUCATION Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Fountain. *25 assignments.*

A survey of education in the United States. Areas of study include organization and administration of education, history of education, problems and issues in education, and professional opportunities. This course or its equivalent is required of all prospective teachers.

c71. (The Pupil)
EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Sommerfeld. *25 assignments.*

Designed to provide teachers and prospective teachers with those psychological skills and insights which are necessary to successfully guide the growing, learning, and adjustments of children. Considers such topics as: the nature of the learner; the nature of learning and factors which influence school learning; nature of individual differences; mental hygiene; and evaluation.

c93. SURVEY AND EVALUATION OF BOOKS AND RELATED MATERIALS FOR CHILDREN. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Mrs. Mouzon.

This course is designed to acquaint students with the field of children's literature so that they may make use of its wide variety of materials in their work with children. The development of ability to know, select and present literature to children in the first through the eighth grades.

c94. (THE SCHOOL)
THE TEACHER AND ORGANIZATION FOR EFFECTIVE TEACHING. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Professor Fountain.

This course is designed for classroom teachers and attempts to show how organization in the classroom and school environment can be made to contribute best to learning. It is especially designed for teachers in the elementary schools but since problems of management of the class and materials of instruction are common to any kind of class, secondary school teachers could profitably enroll in it.

c99. (The School)
THE SECONDARY SCHOOL. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Professor Tarbet.

This course emphasizes the purposes and practices of the modern secondary school in providing for the education of the adolescent boy or girl. This includes a study of the purposes and objectives, the curriculum, including co-curricular activities, the guidance services, and stresses issues and trends in secondary education.

c103a. ELEMENTS OF STATISTICAL METHODS IN EDUCATION. — Credit, 2 semester hrs. *15 assignments.*
Professor Sommerfeld.

This course provides the statistical training necessary for understanding the reports of modern educational investigations and for interpreting simple research projects.

c143a-c143b. (The School)
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. — Credit, 2 semester hrs. each. *16 assignments each.*
Mr. Hill.

The purpose of this course is to present the evolution of the educational practices and institutions of the United States. These will be traced through: (a) the period of transplanting of European institutions; (b) the period of modification of institutional life to meet new conditions; and (c) the period of development of an educational system of free schools in harmony with the political and social ideals and institutions of America.
Note: This course is accepted as the equivalent of History 170.

c144. (The School)
COMMUNITY EDUCATION. — Credit, 3 semester hrs. *25 assignments.*
Miss Siler.

The theories and practices in community education are considered in this course. Students are asked to become familiar with aspects of community life and to find out what has been done in various communities to improve them and in various schools to use them in connection with the school curriculum and to induct students into participation in democratic citizenship. The preparation of teachers for leadership in community education is stressed.

c152a. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE LANGUAGE ARTS IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. — Credit, 2 semester hrs
Miss Siler. — *17 assignments.*

This course aims to have pupils recall and use their experiences in activities such as conversation, story telling, dramatics, choral speech, broadcasting and discussion to improve their oral communication. Activities such as the creative writing of poems, stories, plays, themes and letters to develop the pupil's written expression are important phases of the course. Voice and speech development, the enrichment of the child's experiences, vocabulary and expression through the use of selected literature and improved methods of teaching the tools of language, such as grammar, spelling and handwriting receive adequate attention

c152b. (Teaching and Practicum)
READING AND STUDY HABITS FOR THE ELEMENTARY GRADES. — Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Miss Siler. — *16 assignments.*

This course considers the place of reading and study in the school program, the way teachers may provide for the maximum development of each pupil through making available desirable reading material and the remedial measures needed to meet reading and study difficulties.

c155. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE TEACHING OF SCIENCE IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES. — Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Miss Siler. — *25 assignments.*

The informational content of science is studied in relation to science instruction in the elementary school. Purposes, methods, and materials for such instruction are surveyed. Stress is laid on making the best use of common things at hand, in demonstrating and experimenting.

c156. (Teaching and Practicum)
THE TEACHING OF ARITHMETIC IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. — Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mrs. Garner. — *25 assignments.*

This course deals with the organization and selection of subject matter in arithmetic with modern methods of teaching the subject in the elementary school.

c160. (The School)
CURRICULUM CONSTRUCTION. — Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Miss Ingram. — *25 assignments.*

The general principles and techniques of curriculum construction on both elementary and secondary school levels comprise the major part of the course. Special attention will be focused upon recent trends in curriculum revision and organization in modern schools.

c171. (The Pupil)
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL CHILD. — Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Scott. — *24 assignments.*

The study of human growth and development from conception to maturity, with emphasis on the school-age pupil. Particular attention is given to the physical, physiological, social, emotional, intellectual and moral aspects of growth and development. An attempt is made to relate these to behavior and motivation, particularly as they relate to formal education.

c0. ENGLISH COMPOSITION. Non-credit.
Mrs. Harper. Fee $35.00.
25 assignments.

English c0 is especially concerned with mastery of the sentence as a grammatical unit, with clarity of thought and mechanical correctness as specific objectives. Students may remove composition conditions by passing this course.

c1. ENGLISH COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mrs. Harper. *25 assignments.*

This course has for its object the mastery of the sentence and the relation of sentence structure to paragraph structure.

c2. ENGLISH COMPOSITION AND RHETORIC. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mrs. Harper. *25 assignments.*

The purpose of English c2 is to develop fluency and effectiveness in writing. The four basic kinds of discourse and elementary matters of style will be studied. The emphasis of the course is upon the writing of themes although readings from the text will be analyzed.

c21. ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore). Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Barnes. *25 assignments.*

This course is an introduction to English literature through the study of representative works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton.

c22. ENGLISH LITERATURE (Sophomore). Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Harper. *25 assignments.*

A survey of English literary masterpieces of the 18th and 19th centuries from Swift through Arnold.

c32a. BUSINESS ENGLISH. Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Mr. Greet. *17 assignments.*

This course is similar to English c32.
Students should not take both courses.

c32. BUSINESS ENGLISH. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Greet. *25 assignments.*

A course in the vocabulary, forms and literature of the business profession with special attention to letters of application and inquiry; routine, collection, adjustment and sales letters, business reports, and technical articles. Specimen letters are studied and criticized and actual business problems solved through written work.

c34a. INTRODUCTION TO THE SHORT STORY. Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Mr. Greet. *17 assignments.*

An analysis of numerous short story materials and techniques. Introductory to English c34.

c34. CREATIVE WRITING: AN ANALYSIS OF FICTION.
Mr. Greet.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Critical analysis fee, $5.00
25 assignments.

A composition course designed primarily to offer students an opportunity for short story analysis and the writing of four stories. The work of various well-known authors will be studied. There is also study in the field of general literary principles.

NOTE: Those who have not had a course equivalent to English c34a are advised to take that course first. Applicants for this course who have not had English c34a and do not want to take it should send to the Bureau, for the instructor's consideration, a sample manuscript of their work and a fee of $1.00.

c35. CREATIVE WRITING: THE SHORT STORY (Advanced).
Prerequisite, English c34, or the equivalent.
Mr. Eaton.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

The major aim of this course is to discover and develop the creative writing abilities of students in the planning and preparing of short stories.

c36. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.
Mr. Wenzel.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

A study of modern English grammar with special attention to such current problems as the confusion of grammatical terminology, attacks on traditional rules, conflict between prescriptive and descriptive grammar. The course is designed especially for prospective English teachers, but others may take it.

c43. THE ENGLISH NOVEL.
Professor Barnes.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

This is a course in the development of the English novel, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Special attention is given to the works of Jane Austen, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot.

c58. SHAKESPEARE.
Professor Hardison.
Sophomore, junior, and senior elective.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

A study of Shakespeare's plays. About twenty representative comedies, tragedies and histories will be studied. Recorded plays are available on a rental basis.

c72. ENGLISH LITERATURE, 1780-1830.
Professor Harper.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

A course in the literature of the English Romantic Period, the purpose of which is to acquaint the student with the best thought and feeling of the time. Special attention is given to the greater poets: Coleridge, Wordsworth, Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats.

c81. AMERICAN LITERATURE.
Professor Adams.

Credit, 3 semester hrs.
25 assignments.

This course concerns a study of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods and of the early 19th century through Poe, Hawthorne and Melville.

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY

Geology

c41, c42 INTRODUCTION TO GENERAL GEOLOGY. Credit, 4 semester hrs. each.
Professor Wheeler. Lab. Fee, $1.00 each.
Sophomore, junior, and senior electives. *30 assignments each.*

c41. Physical Geology. Nature and origin of minerals and rocks, volcanoes, earthquakes, interior of the earth, origin of mountains, soil development, subsurface water, coastal features, evolution of landscape, effects of glaciers, streams, and wind.
c42. Historical Geology. Prerequisite, Geology c41. A broad study of the geological history of the earth and its inhabitants, as revealed chiefly in earth records. A scientific and cultural course. Laboratory materials used in these courses will be furnished by the Extension Division.

Geography

c31. INTRODUCTION TO GEOGRAPHY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Basile, or Assistant. *25 assignments.*

This course is a study of the principles underlying the climate, relief, native vegetation, soils, and distribution of minerals and metals of the world.

c157. GEOGRAPHY OF NORTH AMERICA. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Basile, or Assistant. *25 assignments.*

This course comprises a regional study of North America with emphasis on the portion occupied by English-speaking peoples. A brief introduction to the continent as a whole, with emphasis on climate, terrain, and natural resources as fundamental bases of the present geographic pattern, is followed by a study of each of the several regions in light of its own geographic conditions and its place in the whole geographic pattern. A detailed study of Southeastern United States climaxes the course.

DEPARTMENT OF GERMANIC LANGUAGES

German

NOTE: *The German Department will accept no more than six semester hours' credit of German by correspondence for fulfilling the language requirement. However, all work taken by correspondence beyond the language requirement will be acceptable for credit by the Department.*

c1. ELEMENTARY GERMAN. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Reichert. *25 assignments.*

A basic course which seeks to develop reading skill by teaching both the principles of grammar and oral reading fluency (pronunciation and intonation). Tape recordings of the reading material in the course suitable for any machine are available on request, for approximately $5.00. Records (33⅓ r.p.m.), $7.50, are also available. The use of the tape recordings or the records is required.

c2. ELEMENTARY GERMAN. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Reichert. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisite, German 1 or the equivalent.

This is a secondary course in which reading skill is further developed and the principles of grammar briefly reviewed. From the first readings in simplified German the student is gradually led to the superb style of the Austrian writer, Arthur Schnitzler. The use of records (33⅓ r.p.m.), $7.50, or tapes is required.

c3-c4. INTERMEDIATE GERMAN. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Professor Reichert. *25 assignments each.*
Prerequisite, German 1-2 or the equivalent.

These courses are designed to develop speed and accuracy in reading German, and to acquaint the student with some of Germany's outstanding prose writers. German c3 entails in addition to the reading a thorough grammar review. German c4 includes works by Eichendorff, Hesse, and Mann, and introduces an easier work by Kästner for sight reading.

c21-c22. GERMAN LITERATURE. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Professor Reichert. *25 assignments each.*
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-4 or equivalent.

These courses have as their purpose to develop in the student a capacity to read classical German and to familiarize him with German literature in its broad outlines as well as more directly with some of its masterpieces. German c21 surveys German literature from its beginnings to Lessing and Schiller, with readings from Schiller's ballads and plays. German c22 is a study of Classicism and Romanticism, with readings from Goethe, Grillparzer, and Kleist.

c24. SCIENTIFIC GERMAN. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Reichert. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisite, German 1-2-3-4 or equivalent.

The aim of this course is to develop skill in reading German in the special field in which the student is interested. These fields are (1) chemistry, (2) medicine, biology, zoology, and (3) physics, mathematics. When enrolling, the student should indicate in which field he wishes to study. Graduates will also find the course valuable as it will aid them in preparing for the language examinations required for an advanced degree. The course is open to those who have completed the equivalent of four courses in German and have a basic knowledge of German vocabulary and grammar. It is so designed as to enable persons who have not studied German recently to refresh their knowledge of basic principles of grammar.

Russian

c1. ELEMENTARY RUSSIAN. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Arndt. *25 assignments.*

Introductory course designed to lay foundation of grammar and to convey basic reading and pronunciation skills. The use of records (33⅓ r.p.m.), $7.50, is required.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

c1. MODERN CIVILIZATION. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Godfrey. *25 assignments.*

This is an historical study of the institutions of western civilization, designed to promote an understanding of the social, political, and economic aspects of the modern world.

c2. MODERN CIVILIZATION. Credit. 3 semester hrs.
Professor Godfrey. *24 assignments.*

This is a continuation of Modern Civilization c1, to be taken only by those who have had that course or the equivalent.

c21, c22. AMERICAN HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Mr. Geer. *25 assignments each.*
Sophomore elective.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. (Both American History sequences, c21-c22 and c71-c72, should not be taken.)

c21, c22, c23.
AMERICAN HISTORY. Credit, 2 semester hrs. each.
Mr. Geer. *18 assignments each.*
Sophomore elective.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course carries the story from Columbus' discovery of America to about 1823, the second from this point to 1897, and the third covers approximately the last five decades.
NOTE: Those desiring degree credit at the University should take History c21, c22 (3 semester hrs. each) instead of these courses. Those who have had any part of the three course arrangement previously given as History 21, 22, 23 (2 semester hrs. each) may secure the remaining work by correspondence.

c41. ANCIENT HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Riddle. *25 assignments.*
Sophomore, junior and senior elective.

A course dealing with the history of the Orient, Greece, and Rome to the time of Constantine. Particular attention will be paid to social and economic conditions, and cultural and religious developments.

c42. MEDIEVAL HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Riddle. *25 assignments.*
Sophomore, junior and senior elective.

This course deals with the history of Western European civilization during the Middle Ages (300-1500). Special emphasis is given to the economic-social and cultural developments during the late Roman Empire, the so-called "Dark Ages," the age of the Crusades and the Renaissance.

c44, c45. ENGLISH HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Professor Godfrey. *25 assignments each.*
Sophomore elective.

History c44 is a survey of English history from the earliest times to 1714, while History c45 covers the period from then until 1954.

c71, c72. AMERICAN HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Mr. Geer. *25 assignments each.*
Junior-senior elective.

A general survey of the history of the United States. The first course begins with Columbus' discovery of America and goes to the end of the Civil War; the second begins at this point and ends in 1949. (Both American History sequences, c21-c22 and c71-c72, should not be taken.)

c143. AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Johnson. *25 assignments.*
Junior-senior elective.
Prerequisite, American History.

This course is a chronological treatment of American foreign relations from 1763 to the present. It discusses important characters and events in our diplomatic history and traces the origin and development of basic trends in our foreign policy.

c161. NORTH CAROLINA, 1584-1815. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Lefler. *25 assignments.*
Junior-senior elective.

A survey of the political, social, economic and cultural development of North Carolina from the first settlement until 1815.

c162. NORTH CAROLINA, 1815-1959. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Lefler. *25 assignments.*
Junior-senior elective.

A survey of political, economic, social and cultural development in North Carolina since 1815.

c170a-c170b.
SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

For full information, see description of Education c143a-b under Department of Education.

REGISTRATION BLANK FOR CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Bureau of Correspondence Instruction University of North Carolina Chapel Hill, N. C.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Course.....

Credit.....

Date.....

No. Assign.....

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Registration No.....

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In sending this application, I agree to abide by the rules and regulations of the Bureau of Correspondence Instruction as set down on pages 7-8 of the catalogue.

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2. Present Address.....
   Street and Number or Box Number

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   City County State
3. Permanent Address.....
4. Age..... Race..... Occupation.....
5. Previous Education (Be specific, naming institutions, dates and degree.)

   High School .....

   College .....

   Graduate School .....
6. If you have ever registered in any division of the University here, underline which division and give dates.

   Residence Term..... Correspondence.....

   Extension Class..... Summer School.....
7. Kind of credit desired (mark X):

   a. Undergraduate degree credit..... At what Institution?.....

   ..... Toward what degree?.....

   Have you secured the approval of the authorities?.....

   b. Certification Credit.....

   c. No Credit.....
8. If teaching, give KIND of certificate held..... Class..... No.....
9. Number and Title of course desired.....
10. Do you wish to secure the books from us?.....
11. I am enclosing: $.....Course fee (see page 9).

    .....Books. (Include 3% tax for texts.)

    $.....TOTAL

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Chapel Hill, N. C.

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   College .....

   Graduate School .....
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   College .....

   Graduate School .....
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   Residence Term..... Correspondence.....

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   b. Certification Credit.....

   c. No Credit.....
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    $.....TOTAL

DEPARTMENT OF LATIN

c3. INTERMEDIATE LATIN. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Garrison. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.

This course is concerned with the translating of Cicero's *De Senectute,* with work in vocabulary, and with a review of the principles of grammar.

c8. LATIN COMPOSITION. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Garrison. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin.

This course will begin with translation into Latin of detached sentences illustrating the general principles of syntax and word order; the second half of the course will deal with continuous narrative and with questions of diction and style.

c21. SELECTIONS FROM LATIN PROSE. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Garrison. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisites, two years of high school Latin, or one year of elementary college Latin.

The course consists of a review of Latin grammar and a study of Cicero's *De Amicitia.*

c22. LATIN POETRY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Garrison. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisites, four years of high school Latin, or two years of college Latin.

The course comprises the reading of the *Phormio* of Terence and selected odes of Horace. Emphasis is put on content and literary form.

DEPARTMENT OF MATHEMATICS

cnA. PLANE GEOMETRY. Non-Credit.
Mr. Witz. Fee, $35.00.
27 assignments.

A course designed to enable the student to acquire a thorough knowledge of the facts of plane geometry needed for continued work in mathematics and allied subjects. This course will be accepted by the University to remove a deficiency in plane geometry for admission. The material covered in this course, if taken in high school, would require one full school year, being equivalent to one unit.

c7. COLLEGE ALGEBRA. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Garner. *25 assignments.*

This course treats the fundamental operations of algebra and emphasizes the solution of linear and quadratic equations.

c8. PLANE TRIGONOMETRY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Linker. *25 assignments.*

This course concerns itself with the definitions of the trigonometric functions, their relations to each other, and the application of these functions and log tables to the solutions of plane triangles.

c10. MATHEMATICS OF FINANCE. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Linker. *25 assignments.*

This course is a study of simple and compound interest, annuities and their application to debt retirement by amortization and sinking fund methods, depreciation, and bonds, with an introduction to the mathematics of insurance.

c13. SPHERICAL TRIGONOMETRY. Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Professor Garner. *18 assignments.*

This course is designed especially for those who are interested in nautical and aerial navigation. It concerns a study of the mathematics relations existing among the sides and the angles of a triangle on the surface of a sphere.

c31. ANALYTIC GEOMETRY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Hoyle. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisites, Math 7 and 8.

This course includes the standard treatment of lines, conic sections, transformation of coordinate systems by translation and rotation, polar coordinates, parametric equations, lines and planes in solid analytic geometry.

c32. DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Hoyle. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisite, Math 31.

This course is devoted primarily to a study of the derivative and its applications in elementary differential geometry, physics, and the theory of maxima and minima. In the latter part of the course an introduction to the theory of infinite series is followed by a study of Taylor's series.

c33. INTEGRAL CALCULUS. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Hoyle. *25 assignments.*
Prerequisite, Math 32.

A first course in integral calculus.

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

c4. FUNDAMENTALS OF MUSIC. Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Miss Henrotte. *15 assignments.*

A study of the rudiments of music; scales, intervals, and elementary harmonic material with practice in melody writing. The student must have access to a piano. Dictation exercises are required.

c14-c15-c16.
HARMONY. Credit, 2 semester hrs. each.
Miss Henrotte. *18 assignments each.*
Prerequisite, Music 4 or the equivalent.

A first-year course in harmony. This covers the ordinary harmonic resources up to the chords of the seventh, their inversions, and elementary modulation. The student must have access to a piano.

c24-c25.
HISTORY OF MUSIC. Credit, 2 semester hrs. each.
Mr. Grover. Lab. fee, $4.00 for c24 and $6.50 for c25.
15 assignments each.

Phonograph recordings of the music of the periods are used. Students will need a long play record player (33⅓ r.p.m.). Music c24-c25-c26 will be accepted for elective credit as the equivalent of Music 47-48 in residence. Music c24 covers the period from antiquity to the end of the sixteenth century. Music c25 concerns the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

c21. INTRODUCTORY LOGIC. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Luschei. *25 assignments.*

A study of the fundamental principles of efficient thinking as a basis for rational belief and intelligent action. Practical orientation with emphasis on meeting problematic situations. Consideration of linguistic obstacles to clear and straight thinking; standards of valid reasoning; methods of confirming statements.

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

c11 or c12w PERSONAL HYGIENE. Credit, 2 semester hrs.
Professor Blyth. *16 assignments.*

This course is designed to acquaint the student with basic scientific information regarding individual and community health, to develop wholesome attitudes toward physical, mental and social health, and to assist the student in developing sound health practices.

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

cn1. CITIZENSHIP. Non-Credit.
Professor Wager. Fee, $5.00.
21 assignments.

This course in citizenship is offered in cooperation with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service to persons in the state who wish to become citizens of the United States. It is designed especially for those who cannot attend citizenship classes. Other sections of the course are available, the number of assignments for each varying.

c41. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Miss Hunt. *25 assignments.*

A general course dealing with the national government of the United States. Attention will be directed to the constitutional basis, the historical development, and the practical organization and operation of the institutions established for administering national affairs.

c51. STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Miss Hunt. *25 assignments.*

A study of the principles, organization, and administrative methods and functions of the state governments.

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

c26. GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY. Credit, 4 semester hrs. including one lab. hr.
Professor King. *25 lecture and 8 laboratory assignments.*
Sophomore, junior and senior elective.

The aim of the course is to present the essential phenomena of psychology, and the various methods of approach. Emphasis is placed on the organic relationships within the whole field.

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION

c28. THE ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BIBLE. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Miss Johnson. *25 assignments.*

This course is an introduction to the literature of the Bible, with special consideration of the impact of the Hebrew-Christian faith upon modern man as he seeks a religious orientation in the contemporary situation.

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES

NOTE: Candidates for degree credit at the University are required to take their courses in this department in residence.

Spanish

c3-c4. SPANISH COMPOSITION. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Professor McKnight. *25 assignments each.*
Prerequisites, either two years of high school or one year of college Spanish.

The object of these courses is to provide the student with an opportunity to acquire practice in writing Spanish.

c21-c22. SPANISH LITERATURE. Credit, 3 semester hrs. each.
Professor McKnight. *25 assignments each.*
Prerequisites, Spanish 3-4 or 14-15 or the equivalent.

Spanish c21 is a general survey of Spanish literature during the 16th and 17th centuries. There is the reading of selections from Lope de Vega, Cervantes, Calderon, etc. Spanish c22 gives a general survey of Spanish literature since the classical period, with special stress on the 19th century.

Russian

(See Germanic Languages.)

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

General Sociology

c51. INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Thelin. *25 assignments.*
Sophomore, junior, senior elective.

A general course dealing with the structure and function of contemporary societies and social relationships. A study is made of the way societies are formed, how they achieve their organization and unity, and the way they change.

c52. SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Miller. *25 assignments.*

An introductory course with primary emphasis on both the positive and pathological features of society.

*c62a-c62b.
MARRIAGE. Credit, 2 semester hrs. each.
Mr. Elder. *16 assignments each.*

(a) Backgrounds of American marriage institutions; analysis of mate selection and the involvement processes leading to marriage. (b) Adjustments after marriage; marital conflict and accommodation; problems of parenthood; consideration of counseling and other stabilizing devices provided by communities.

c125. THE NEGRO. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Miller. *25 assignments.*
Junior and senior elective.

This course includes a study of the American Negro's historical and cultural background, aspects of Negro life and the problems of race relations.

c173. COMMUNITY RECREATION. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Sessoms. *25 assignments.*

This course contains materials of study concerning the foundations of organized recreation—background and theories; principles and objectives; social and economic factors; public, private and commercial interest in recreation; the social institutions' and government's relation to recreation.

c176. PROGRAM PLANNING FOR COMMUNITY RECREATION. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Sessoms. *25 assignments.*

This course is designed to orient the student to the fields of recreation activities, principles and methods of program planning, time allocation for schedules, special activities and events, use of recreation areas and facilities, and the role of leadership in program operation. It is recommended that Sociology c173 be taken before Sociology c176 is begun.

c192. CRIMINOLOGY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Miller. *25 assignments.*

The principles of criminology and penology with emphasis on psycho-sociological factors; study of historical and contemporary theory and practice.

Rural Sociology

c102. RURAL SOCIOLOGY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Mr. Miller. *25 assignments.*

This course makes a study of the rural community, considering the advantages and disadvantages of farm life, rural health, sanitation and social institutions.

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* A three semester hour course in this subject will be available during the summer of 1961.

c41. GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY. Credit, 3 semester hrs.
Professor Honigmann. *24 assignments.*

A basic introduction to man as a species and as a producer of customs and culture. The evolution of mankind, physical anthropology, modern varieties and races, and human capabilities. The fundamental culture developments of human history with a general study of the functioning principles of culture. Study of selected culture areas.

The General College Requirements

The following information is inserted so that correspondence students may select their courses in line with the requirements for credit at the University of North Carolina should they desire to do so. Those interested in a bachelor's degree should be guided by the University Catalogue. The University Catalogue should be consulted for information regarding grade averages and other requirements for graduation. The courses recommended in the first two years are designed to provide a general, well-rounded, liberal education. The amount of correspondence work accepted for degree credit is explained on pages 6-7.

With a few exceptions and limitations, all General College students are required to complete in their freshman and sophomore years a program of twenty selected courses as well as the required courses in hygiene (one semester) and physical education (4 semesters). The twenty courses are ordinarily distributed as follows: *three* courses in English (English 1, 2, 21); *three* courses in the social sciences (Modern Civilization 1, 2, one other); *three* courses in one foreign language (or four courses if the language chosen is other than a high school foreign language presented to meet entrance requirements); *three* courses in natural (laboratory) sciences, including at least one biological science (botany. zoology, psychology) and at least one physical science (the third course may be either, or it may be sophomore mathematics); *two* courses in freshman mathematics or in Greek or Latin; *six* additional courses, which in some programs may be freely chosen by the student from a list of electives (see below), in other programs will include specified courses required for the particular degree.

Sophomore Electives[1]

Those courses in parentheses carry upper college credit for a restricted student provided they fit into the pattern of his degree requirements.

Anthropology	†41
Art	31, 32, †33, 44, 46, 48, 55
Astronomy	31, 32
Botany	1, (41), (42), (43)
Chemistry	11-12, or 11-21, (43), (44)
Classics	Greek 1-2, 3, 4, 21, 22
	Latin 1-2, †3, 4, †21, †22, (51), (52), (53)
	Classics 31, 32 (courses in English translation)
Dramatic Art	30
Economics	30, 31-32
Education	†(41)
English	†22, 23, 26
Geology	1 or †41, †42
Geography	38, 48
German[2]	†1-†2, †3, †4, †21, †22, 31, 32

1. The School of Business Administration recommends the following electives in the humanities for those who wish a substitute for Language 21: Art 31, 32, 33; Classics 31, 32; English 22, 23, 26; Music 41, 55, 56; Philosophy 21, 22, 41, 42; Religion 28, 30, 45.

2. Language 21 is to count as an elective only when General College language requirements are met by 1-2, 3, 4 in that language.

† Offered by Correspondence Instruction.

History	†21, †22, †(41), †(42), †(44), †(45), (46), (47), (48), (49)
Journalism	(53)
Mathematics	†31*, †(32*), †(33*), 41, 51, (62)
Music	14-15, 31-32, 41, 44-45, 55, 56
Philosophy	†21, 22, 41, 42
Physical Education	(77)
Physics	20, 24, 25
Political Science	†41, (42), †(51), (52)
Psychology	†26, 27, 28
Radio	(45)
Religion	†28, 30, (31), (45)
Romance Languages	French[2] 1-2, 3, 4, 14, 15, 21, 22, (50), (51), (52)
	Spanish[2] 1-2, 3, 4, 14, 15, 21, 22, (50), (51), (52)
Russian	†1-2, 3, 4
Sociology	†(51), †(52) parentheses apply for School of Business Administration only
	Rural Sociology (53)
Zoology	11, (41).

North Carolina Certification Requirements

Teachers who need *professional courses* must be sure to choose them in their own professional field. For instance, a primary teacher should not take a course in high school methods.

For renewing a certificate based on a bachelor's degree six semester hours' work is required and may be taken by correspondence and/or extension class. Any courses which do not duplicate courses previously taken will be suitable provided they are in areas or subjects specifically related to the needs of the individual in connection with his/her work. (Credit may be in either education or subject matter courses.) Certificates based on more advanced degrees may not be renewed by correspondence.

The following regulations have been adopted by the State Department of Public Instruction:

1. No teacher in service shall be given credit for more than twenty semester hours during any one year between September 1st of that year and August 31st of the following year, a teacher in service being defined as one who teaches six or more months during the period. This, it must be understood, is the maximum total credit from all sources.

2. Not more than forty per cent of the credit necessary to raise a certificate from one class to another may be earned through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction.

3. The original professional credit necessary for an administrative or supervisory certificate may not be secured through extension class teaching and/or correspondence study instruction. The requirements for Graduate Secondary and Elementary Certificates, issued on the basis of a master's degree, may not be met by correspondence study.

4. Not more than sixteen semester hours' extension credit may be earned with the same instructor.

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2. Language 21 is to count as an elective only when General College language requirements are met by 1-2, 3, 4 in that language.

† Offered by Correspondence Instruction.

For High School Teachers' Certificates

The requirements for A Certificates, as outlined by the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, are as follows:

The minimum scholastic training represents graduation from a standard four-year college. The subject, or subjects, for which certification is granted appear on the face of the certificate. It is desirable that one be qualified to teach two or more subjects.

This summary of requirements is expressed in terms of professional requirements and academic requirements.

I. Professional Requirements .....18 Semester Hours
   a. The Pupil 6
   b. The School 6
   c. Teaching and Practicum 6*
   (Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the School of Education.)

II. Academic requirements vary with the subject for which certification is granted. In terms of semester hours, the minimum subject matter credit for the teaching of each of the various subjects is as follows:

HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS' CERTIFICATES

1. *Art* 30
   Design (industrial, interior, costume) 9
   Drawing and Painting 9
   Ceramics and/or Sculpture.. 3
   Art History 6

2. *Bible and Religion* 21
   Old Testament 6
   New Testament 6
   Electives 9

3. *Commerce* 36
   Economics and Retailing 12-15
   Accounting and Management (including Office Management) 12-15
   Office Skills (shorthand, transcription and typing) 12
   Minimum office experience in the individual areas as follows:
   Typewriting 4
   Stenography 11-13
   including:
   Transcription 9
   Typing 2-4
   Bookkeeping 15
   (Accounting and Management)
   Basic Business 24
   Economics 12
   Management and Accounting 12

4. *Distributive Education* 36
   Economics 6-9
   Retailing 9-12
   (such as:
   Introduction to Retailing
   Store Organization
   Retail Advertising
   Textiles
   Merchandise Information and Salesmanship)
   Accounting and Management 6-12
   Related Distributive Education and Commerce 12-18
   To be selected from:
   Art, Design, Commercial Art, Speech, Public Speaking, Economic Geography, Business Surveys or Analysis, Business (law, mathematics, typewriting, English and organization or principles)
   Minimum Business Experience—Exceptional experience above the minimum required may be substituted for not more than the 12 semester hours in the required subjects. A maximum of one full year's experience shall be required for each 6 semester hours for which substitution is made.

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

5. *English* 30
Required:
Shakespeare 3
American Literature 3
Advanced Grammar and Composition 3
Recommended from:
Speech 3
English or American Literature 6
Teaching of Reading 3
Young People's Literature 3

6. *French* 24-30
(24 semester hours based upon two or more high school units; otherwise 30 semester hours)
Spoken Language 6
Quantative requirements for teaching other modern foreign languages same as for French.

7. *Health Education* 24
a. The Individual 9-12
1) Personal Health 3
2) Mental Health 3
(1 and 2 may be combined)
3) First Aid and Safety 3
b. Community and School 9-12
1) Principles of Public Health 6
2) Environmental Health 3
(1 and 2 may be combined)
3) Healthful Family Living 3
c. Organization and Administration of School Community Health 3-6

8. *Home Economics* 51
a. Chemistry 6
b. Biology 6
c. Physics 2
d. Art 3
e. Foods 8
f. Clothing 8
g. Management 6
Home Management Residence required (six weeks recommended as a minimum). Other courses may include buying, furnishing and housing.
h. Family 6
Required:
Child Development
Family Relationships
Other courses may include Health, Nursing, and Hygiene.
i. Social Science 6

9. *Industrial Arts* 30
a. Drawing and Design 6
b. Woodwork (such as bench work, machine work, carpentry cabinet making)..... 6
c. General Metal Work (including three or more of the following areas: cold metal, sheet metal, forging, foundry, machine shop, art metal, welding) 6
d. General Electricity (such as principles, house wiring, common appliances, and radio) 4
e. General Shop 2
f. Electives from a, b, c, d, or from such other courses as graphic arts (printing, silk screen, photography), ceramics, automotives, aeronautics, crafts (jewelry, leather) 6

10. *Latin* 24
Based on two units of High School Latin, to be reduced six semester hours for each additional unit of entrance credit.

11. *Library Science* 18
Hold or be qualified to hold a Class A Certificate.
Have credit for a minimum of 18 semester hours in Library Science as follows:
a. Organization, to include the organization and administration of school libraries, cataloging and classification 6
b. Materials, to include materials for children and young people, and reference materials 6
c. Electives in Library Science 6

12. *Mathematics* 21
Required:
College Algebra 3
Trigonometry 3
Analytic Geometry 3
Recommended from:
Differential and Integral Calculus 6
History of Mathematics 3
Mechanical Drawing 3
Surveying 3
Applications of Mathematics to science, engineering, commerce and industry 3
Statistics 3
Consumer Mathematics 3

College Physics 3
Navigation 3
Astronomy 3

13. *Music Education*
   a. General 36
      1) Applied Music 18
         a) Piano 6
         b) Voice 6
         (At least one-half the voice credit shall be voice training.)
      2) Theory of Music .....12 (harmony, form, ear-training)
      3) History & Appreciation of Music 6
   b. Instrumental 36
      1) Applied Music 21
         a) Major Instrument 6-12
         b) At least two minor instruments (piano advised to be one; voice permitted as one) 9-15
      2) Theory of Music ..... 9 (harmony, form, ear-training)
      3) History & Appreciation of Music 6

14. *Health and Physical Education—Whole Time* 36
   a. Area of Principles, Organization, Administration, and Supervision 6-10
      1) Principles of Health Education
      2) Principles of Physical Education
         (1 and 2 may be combined)
      3) Organization and Administration of Health and Physical Education
      4) Evaluation and Measurements in Health and Physical Education
      5) Curriculum in Physical Education
         At least four areas must be included in this requirement.
   b. Area of Applied Techniques 10-12
      1) Methods & Materials in Group Games of Low Organization
      2) Methods & Materials in Individual Sports (Tennis, Golf, Wrestling, etc.)
      3) Methods & Materials in Aquatics
      4) Methods & Materials in Rhythms
      5) Methods and Materials in Tumbling-Stunts
      6) Methods & Materials in Team Sports (Touch Football, Soccer, Speedball, Volleyball, etc.)
      7) Methods & Materials in Team Sports
         a) Football
         b) Basketball
         c) Baseball
         d) Track
         At least five areas must be included in this requirement.
   c. Area of Individual Physical Education 4-6
      Individual Physical Education (may include Kinesiology)
   d. Area of Health Education 4-6
      1) First Aid—Safety—Athletic Injuries
      2) Problems in Health Education
   e. Anatomy and Physiology 6
   f. Biological Science 6

15. *Science* 30
   a. Biology 6
   b. Chemistry 6
   c. Physics 6
   d. Geography or Geology..... 3
   e. Electives from a, b, c, or d 9
   Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas a, b, c, or d, in which 12 semester hours' credit is presented. Certification for the subject of General Science will require credit for 18 semester hours from three of the four areas a, b, c, and d.

16. *Social Studies* 30
   a. European History or World History 6
   b. American History 6
   c. From Government, Geography, Economics, or Sociology 12
   d. Electives from any of the above 6
   Individual certification will be granted in any of the specific areas — History, Government, Geography, Economics and

Sociology—in which 12 semester hours credit is presented. Certification for Citizenship or Civics, or Problems in American Democracy would require credit for at least 18 semester hours from Government, Economics and Sociology.

17. *Agriculture:*
B.S. Degree in Agriculture Education, including professional credits required for teachers of other high school subjects.

For Grammar Grade or Primary Certificates

CLASS A

These are certificates required of elementary teachers. They require a degree from a standard four-year college. As a part of the work, or in addition to it, the applicant shall have:

1. English 12
   English Required for Degree
   Children's Literature 2-3
   Recommended:
   Advanced Grammar and Composition 3
   Speech 3
2. American History 6
   Government 2-3
3. Geography 6
   (Principles and Regional recommended)
4. Art 6
   Music 6
5. Health and Physical Education 6
   Required:
   Principles, Practices and Procedures in Physical Education for Elementary Schools 2
   Principles, Practices and Procedures in Health for Elementary Schools 2
6. Education 18
   a. The Pupil 6
   b. The School 6
   c. Teaching and Practicum....*6
   (Correspondence courses available in these areas are indicated under the Department of Education.)

NOTE: The over-all specific requirements are the same for the Primary and Grammar Grade A Certificates. In certain areas, however, particularly in Education, it is expected that there would be slightly different emphases for the two groups. Both the Grammar Grade and the Primary A Certificates are valid for teaching in grades 1-8.

* Must include at least 45 clock hours of actual teaching.

N. C. STATE COLLEGE COURSES
Raleigh, N. C.

(Applications for these courses should be sent directly to North Carolina State College, Box 5125, State College Station, Raleigh, N. C.)

Agriculture

Course	*Credit*
A. I. 214, Feeds and Feeding I	2 Semester Hours
A. I. 314, Feeds and Feeding II	2 Semester Hours
Hort. 220, Vegetable Gardening	2 Semester Hours
Hort. 223, Flower Growing	2 Semester Hours
Hort. 301, Plant Propagation	3 Semester Hours
Poul. 200, Poultry Production	2 Semester Hours

Architecture

Arch. 321, History of Architecture I	3 Semester Hours

Economics

Ec. 201, Economics	3 Semester Hours
Ec. 202, Economics	3 Semester Hours
Ec. 407, Business Law I	3 Semester Hours
Ec. 425, Industrial Management	3 Semester Hours

Education

Ed. 344, Secondary Education	2 Semester Hours

Engineering

M. E. 101, Engineering Graphics	2 Semester Hours
M. E. 102, Engineering Graphics	2 Semester Hours
E. E. 211, Elementary Circuits and Fields Theory	3 Semester Hours

English

Eng. 111, Composition	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 112, Composition	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 211, Business English	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 361, Backgrounds of English Civilization I	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 362, Backgrounds of English Civilization II	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 365, The American Mind I	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 366, The American Mind II	3 Semester Hours
Eng. 374, North Carolina Literature	2 Semester Hours
English Review	No College Credit

Entomology

Ent. 322, Beekeeping	3 Semester Hours

Geology

Geol. 101, Earth Science	3 Semester Hours
Geol. 208, Physical Geography	2 Semester Hours

History

Hist. 225, Modern Europe	3 Semester Hours
Hist. 226, Modern Europe	3 Semester Hours
Hist. 251, The U. S. to 1865	3 Semester Hours
Hist. 252, The U. S. since 1865	3 Semester Hours
Hist. 306, North Carolina History	2 Semester Hours
Hist. 331, The Old South	3 Semester Hours

Hist. 332, The New South ..... 3 Semester Hours
Hist. 412, Recent United States History ..... 3 Semester Hours

Political Science

Pol. Sc. 201, The American Governmental System ..... 3 Semester Hours

Mathematics

Math. 101, First Year Mathematics for Engineers .... 5 Semester Hours
Math. 102, First Year Mathematics for Engineers .... 4 Semester Hours
Math. 107, Plane Trigonometry ..... 3 Semester Hours
Math. 111, Algebra and Trigonometry ..... 4 Semester Hours
Math. 112, Analytic Geometry and Calculus A..... 4 Semester Hours
Math. 122, Mathematics of Finance and Elementary Statistics ..... 4 Semester Hours
Math. 211, Analytic Geometry and Calculus B ..... 3 Semester Hours
Math. 212, Analytic Geometry and Calculus C ..... 3 Semester Hours
Math. 201, Calculus I ..... 4 Semester Hours
Math. 202, Calculus II ..... 4 Semester Hours
Review of Elementary Algebra ..... No College Credit
Plane Geometry ..... No College Credit
Solid Geometry ..... No College Credit

Modern Languages

M. L. 101, Elementary French ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 102, Elementary French Grammar and Prose Reading ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 201, French Prose ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 401, Introductory Scientific French ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 105, Elementary Spanish ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 106, Spanish Grammar and Prose Reading ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 205, Spanish Prose: Iberia ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 206, Spanish Prose: Hispano-America ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 103, Elementary German ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 104, German Grammar and Prose Reading ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 204, German Prose: German Civilization ..... 3 Semester Hours
M. L. 403, Introductory Scientific German ..... 3 Semester Hours

Psychology

Psy. 200, Introduction to Psychology ..... 3 Semester Hours
Psy. 302, Psy. of Personality and Adjustment ..... 3 Semester Hours
Psy. 304, Educational Psychology ..... 3 Semester Hours
Psy. 476, Psychology of Adolescence ..... 2 Semester Hours

Rural Sociology

R. S. 301, Sociology of Rural Life ..... 3 Semester Hours

Sociology

Soc. 202, General Sociology ..... 3 Semester Hours
Soc. 203, Current Social Problems ..... 3 Semester Hours
Soc. 301, Human Behavior ..... 3 Semester Hours
Soc. 304, Contemporary Family Life ..... 3 Semester Hours
Soc. 306, Crime and Delinquency ..... 3 Semester Hours
Soc. 402, City Life ..... 3 Semester Hours

Statistics

Stat. 361, Int. to Statistics for Engineers ..... 3 Semester Hours

Textiles

Tex. 101A, Yarn Principles	1 Semester Hour
Tex. 101B, Yarn Principles	2 Semester Hours
Tex. 201A, Yarn Manufacture II	3 Semester Hours
Tex. 201B, Yarn Manufacture II	4 Semester Hours
Tex. 301A, Yarn Manufacture III	3 Semester Hours
Tex. 301B, Yarn Manufacture III	4 Semester Hours
Tex. 323, Textile Testing II	3 Semester Hours

For further information concerning the courses listed on pages 35-37, write to the College Extension Division, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.

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UNIVERSITY EXTENSION SERVICES

The Extension Division is the administrative agency through which the University extends its services to the people. It is the function of the Division to sponsor and develop educational services, which the University of North Carolina can provide better than any other public institution because of its nature as the State University, to citizens of North Carolina not enrolled as resident students.

Services of the Division may be broadly categorized as the offering of regular University courses through extension classes, correspondence instruction, and television, non-credit adult education programs and services on the campus and throughout the state, and services to the public schools.

In addition to the correspondence courses listed in this catalogue, the University of North Carolina offers the following services to the people of the state.

Audio-Visual Education. Audio-visual materials and services are available to schools, colleges, civic groups and other agencies. Films for community programs, business and industry and other adult groups are made available each month through public libraries.

Class Instruction. Extension courses in regular University subjects are offered in communities throughout the state and on the campus in the evenings. These courses are taught by members of the University faculty and, when all requirements are met, give the same credit as courses in residence.

Conferences and Short Courses. Conferences and short courses for various organizations and groups are arranged at Chapel Hill and at other North Carolina communities.

Music. The services of the North Carolina Music Program are available to schools, colleges, churches and other organizations in the communities of the state. Two FM Radio Programs, "Let's Listen to Opera," are produced weekly.

School Relations. Services to the schools include: (a) high school debating contests; (b) high school study and discussion programs dealing with the general subject of building world peace; (c) high school contests in academic subjects; (d) the North Carolina Scholastic Press Institute; and (e) the North Carolina School Art Exhibition.

School Tests. Standardized educational tests are distributed to authorized educational agents. Faculty members of the School of Education serve in an advisory capacity in evaluating new tests.

Television Instruction. Extension courses in regular University subjects are offered on Channel 4, WUNC-TV. These courses are taught by members of the University faculty and, when all requirements are met, give the same credit as courses in residence.

Business Services. The University sponsors the adult education program for businessmen developed by the Bureau of Business Services and Research.

Communication Center. WUNC radio, WUNC-TV at Chapel Hill, recording, graphic presentation, and still photography are provided as an extension of the University to the people of North Carolina.

Continuation Education, Division of Health Affairs. The University conducts postgraduate medical and dental courses on and off the campus. Short refresher courses and conferences for public health officials, nurses, health educators, dietitians and other professional groups are held each year.

Community Drama. Assistance in organizing, play selecting, costuming, make-up, and lighting is available to schools, colleges and communities throughout the state.

Economic and Social Surveys. *The University of North Carolina News Letter,* containing information on social and economic conditions in North Carolina, is published twelve times each year.

Educational Research and Service. Members of the faculty of the School of Education offer: educational tests and measurements; school surveys and advice on school buildings, equipment, and general administrative problems.

English Extension. Services to teachers and students of English include: (a) publication and distribution of the *North Carolina English Teacher*; (b) professional meetings and conferences; (c) committee activities co-ordinated by the bureau; and (d) liaison and exchange service with state, regional, and national organizations of English teachers.

Recreation. Services in public recreation and leisure time problems are offered through the Bureau of Recreation.

For information about any of the above services, write to the UNIVERSITY EXTENSION DIVISION, Chapel Hill, N. C.

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VOLUME XIX

North Carolina Writers. Revised. Walter Spearman. October 1953. No. 1
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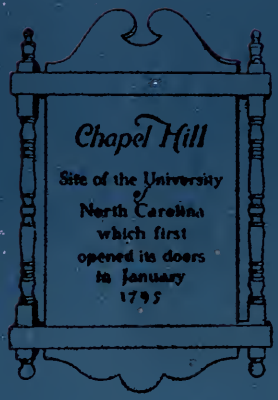
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of
North Carolina
which first
opened its doors
in January
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